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Canada Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism
Report 1967
V. 5-6-

Report of the
Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism

Book V The Federal Capital

Book VI Voluntary Associations



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bilingualism and biculturalism
Report v. 5

1967

Report of the Royal Commission
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
Volume 5

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism



To His Excellency
The Governor General in Council

We, the Commissioners appointed
as a Royal Commission, beg to submit
to your Excellency
Volume 5 of our Final Report

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Ottawa, February 14, 1970



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*C'est la capitale qui, surtout,
fait les mœurs des peuples ;
c'est Paris qui fait les Français.*

Montesquieu

A. The Significance of Capital Cities

1. In Book I of this *Report* we discussed briefly the status of the two official languages in the federal capital area and made a recommendation¹ concerning the linguistic régime that should be applied to the area. But we also noted that more than a new linguistic régime was required to achieve a seat of government fully appropriate to Canada today. In this Book we shall outline the changes we think are necessary.

2. In thinking about the federal capital, we have tried first of all to see the issues in broad perspective. We have looked not only at the Canadian situation in some detail, but also in a more general way at the problems and solutions that have been developed for the capitals of other countries. Such an approach has enabled us to visualize more clearly the role that the federal capital should play in Canadian life—a role that has two quite distinct aspects.

The role of
the capital

3. First, a capital is a symbol of the country as a whole. It should express, in the best way possible, the values of the country as a whole, its way of life, its cultural richness and diversity, its social outlook, its aspirations for the future. This symbolism has both an internal and an external dimension. Citizens from across the country who visit their capital should find in it a fuller understanding of their country's traditions and a pride in personal identification with it. Similarly, visitors from other countries should be able just as readily to find tangible expression of the values of a country with which they may be unfamiliar.

Symbol of the
whole country

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 380.

Legislative and administrative centre

4. In the second place, and on a more practical plane, a capital is a legislative and administrative meeting place for legislators from every constituency in the country; it must offer a suitable environment for these activities. Most modern states place considerable stress upon offering career opportunities in the public service of the country on equitable terms to all its citizens. To the extent that the capital is an uncongenial or disadvantageous place to work for any sector of the population, such an aim is frustrated. Moreover, many private citizens visit the capital to deal with government, and they too must be able to do so without undue inconvenience. In short, it is important that a capital offer a satisfactory working environment within which the business of government may be conducted; to the extent that it does not, the result will be a loss of efficiency and morale.

Location

5. The location and development of an appropriate national capital are matters of considerable importance. Some countries have had no particular problem of choice. London and Paris are examples of cities that, at an early date, outstripped all possible rivals in terms of historic claims, population and skills, economic vitality, and cultural predominance. Rome, Berlin, Tokyo, Vienna, Madrid, and Mexico City are similar examples of major metropolises that became capitals of their respective states without significant rivalry from other cities.

6. In other instances, the development of a capital has been the result of a deliberate political decision: the creation of Canberra as capital of the Australian federation and the more recent founding of Brasilia are illustrations of this. In Brazil the removal of the capital from the existing metropolitan centre of Rio de Janeiro to a new site far in the interior emphasized a national policy of turning towards a previously underdeveloped part of the country.

Political difficulties in choosing a capital

7. On occasion the selection of a capital may be a deeply divisive political issue. Different regions with varying economic interests may contend vigorously for the prize, and this cleavage may be aggravated if religious, ethnic, or linguistic cleavages are also present. Even in countries of highly homogeneous populations, such as Australia, the question of an acceptable capital was one of the obstacles to federation.

Methods of resolution

8. Tensions over the selection of a capital have been resolved in a variety of ways. The Republic of South Africa, to pacify the conflicting claims of the previous colonial capitals, divided its capital functionally: Cape Town became the seat of the legislature; Pretoria became the administrative capital; and even Bloemfontein was recognized in becoming the seat of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court.

9. Another possibility is for the capital to move from place to place. In Switzerland prior to 1848, the Secretariat of the Confederation rotated

at two-year intervals among Zurich, Bern, and Lucerne. Such a solution would hardly suit the administrative structures of the modern state.

10. The Republic of Pakistan has seen some elements of both these solutions: the 1956 Constitution provided for meetings of the National Assembly and the Supreme Court to rotate between Karachi in West Pakistan—the federal capital—and Dacca in East Pakistan. The 1962 Constitution provided that the new site of Islamabad in West Pakistan would become the principal seat of the federal government for administrative and diplomatic matters, while Dacca would be a “second capital” and the seat of the National Assembly.

11. The more usual solution to rivalries over the choice of a capital, however, is to seek agreement on a more or less neutral site—that is, one that is easily accessible to all and that reduces as far as possible the relative advantages and disabilities of the various interest groups involved. In a highly diversified country the choice of an acceptable capital may be a complex decision.

12. But the original selection of a capital is only a first step. A successful capital must continue to reflect the values and aspirations of all major interests in the country. By virtue of what it symbolizes, it can become in time a powerful stimulant to loyalty and identification with the country as a whole. Wherever political, social, economic, ethnic, or religious cleavages run deep, the potential role of the capital as an agent of unity is correspondingly greater.

B. Our Concern with the Capital

13. In the light of the background we have just described, it is hardly surprising that questions concerning the capital arose from our earliest public meetings in 1963. Three speakers commented on the cultural milieu of the capital at the preliminary hearings of November 7 and 8, 1963, and the topic was frequently raised at our informal regional meetings, held between March 18 and June 16, 1964. Many of the formal briefs submitted to us mentioned the federal capital, several analyzing it at some length. From the time that our own research programme was first formulated in October 1963, a study of the capital was listed among the projects to be undertaken.

Public concern

14. The formal briefs contain a wealth of observations and perceptions about the capital. Much testimony suggests that the language and culture of English-speaking Canada predominate there; that English is the sole official language; that a Francophone resident or visitor from Quebec cannot feel “at home” there; that the federal capital is

like a foreign territory to a substantial sector of the Canadian population. As illustrations of this predominance of English, various briefs mention the refusal of Ottawa City Council to permit traffic signs in French; the predominance of English signs on federal public buildings; the difficulties of obtaining service in French in the shops; and the obstacles to testifying in French in local courts. Though the picture may have to be shaded or qualified after closer study, this is the image of the capital that emerges from the briefs presented to us, and it is a picture shared by Francophone and Anglophone Canadians.

Effect of the
capital's
Anglophone
image

15. That such an image should be held by substantial numbers of Canadians has important consequences for the federal government. Our terms of reference ask us "to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration."¹ To the extent that the atmosphere of the capital impedes the recruitment of adequate numbers of Francophone public servants from Quebec, or induces them to leave the federal Public Service prematurely, or promotes their Anglicization and estrangement from their original cultural background, to that extent the capital fails to fulfil its role as the seat of the federal government. Since these questions have been studied more fully in Book III² we need not enlarge upon them here, but their importance can hardly be overstressed.

16. In the second place, there are discernible beginnings of a development that may bear more directly on the capital itself: some agencies, unable to recruit the staff they want in Ottawa, have extended their headquarters operations to Montreal. The Translation Bureau is an example. To facilitate recruitment of translators, the Bureau established a division in Montreal, which in 1965 rivalled in size and output the General Translation division in Ottawa.³

17. Further, the following federal agencies have their principal addresses in Montreal rather than in Ottawa: Air Canada, Canadian National, the Canadian Overseas Telecommunications Corporation, the administrative offices of the Industrial Development Bank, and the National Film Board.⁴ When the Fowler Committee on Broadcasting reported in 1965, it recommended that the headquarters of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation be moved from Ottawa to one of the major production centres, and it preferred Montreal above Toronto

¹ The terms of reference are given in full in Appendix I.

² *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, III, §§ 567-8 and 700-11.

³ Jacques LaRivière, "La traduction dans la fonction publique," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

⁴ A more recent example is the Canadian Livestock Feed Board, established in May 1967. For the discussion on its location, see Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, October 11 1966, 8536-7, 8541-50.

in part because "the two national languages and cultures meet there more completely than in any other city in Canada."¹

18. Of course, it is difficult to assess how far linguistic considerations alone counted in the decisions to locate these agencies outside Ottawa; Montreal clearly has other advantages of a major commercial and industrial metropolis. As well, some other federal agencies, including the Canadian Wheat Board at Winnipeg and Polymer Corporation at Sarnia, have their headquarters in neither Ottawa nor Montreal. Nevertheless, it seems clear to us that if in the long run Ottawa cannot provide a satisfactory setting for a public service representative of both the Francophone and the Anglophone population, the probable result will be a slow attrition of federal activity in that city to the advantage of other more suitable environments.

19. From the beginning of our inquiry it was clear to us that equal partnership, the central notion of our terms of reference, was not being achieved in the federal capital area. However, before proceeding further it was necessary to study the precise nature of the problem and to consider what remedies were possible.

C. Capitals in Bilingual States

20. With these considerations in mind we looked more closely at the capitals of certain countries that had been examined in some detail by our researchers,² to see how they have applied the principle of equal partnership between linguistic groups.

21. We begin with Belgium because that country has perhaps gone furthest in enacting special linguistic provisions for its capital city. The choice of Brussels as capital in 1831 owed something to its central position in a geographic sense, and something to the fact that, because the new kingdom was reacting strongly against its former domination by the Netherlands, the rival city of Antwerp, close to the Dutch border, was not considered acceptable. Once chosen, Brussels developed rapidly into a large metropolitan capital, whose population of over a million in 1961 accounted for some 11 per cent of the total Belgian population. In the process of expansion, a Dutch-speaking majority of 67 per cent

Brussels

¹ *Report of the Committee on Broadcasting, 1965* (Ottawa, 1965), 132.

² This section is based on the following studies prepared for the R.C.B.&B.: J. Brazeau, "Essai sur la question linguistique en Belgique"; Centre de recherche et d'information socio-politiques, "Le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme en Belgique"; T. Miljan, "Bilingualism in Finland"; J. Meynaud, "Le problème des langues dans l'administration fédérale helvétique"; J. Meynaud, "Le problème des langues dans l'économie helvétique"; P. Welsh, "Plurilingualism in Switzerland"; J. J. N. Cloete, "Bilingualism in the Public Sector in South Africa"; K. Heard, "Bilingualism in South Africa"; W. G. McConkey, "The Bilingual and Bicultural Structure of the White South African Educational System."

in 1846 dwindled and gave way to a strong French-speaking majority of 71 per cent at the 1947 census. The rapid growth of a preponderantly French-speaking capital city in the middle of a formerly Dutch-speaking countryside has been one of the major grievances of Flemish Belgians, and even today the sharpest tensions are in the formerly Dutch-speaking suburbs, which are being increasingly populated by French-speaking middle-class citizens.

22. The solution attempted by Belgium has been to promote bilingualism of public institutions in the capital as completely as possible. As part of its extensive legislation on linguistic matters, the central government has imposed heavy obligations on municipal authorities to serve the public in both official languages. This has been a central solution imposed by parliament in the context of the country-wide situation; it is doubtful that local political forces would or could have done as much. It was made possible in a political sense because the Dutch-speaking population, while a minority in the capital, has a slight majority in the country as a whole.

23. A few examples will illustrate how far the arrangements for Brussels differ from the principle of territoriality applied in the rest of the country. For the municipalities of the capital area, communications to the general public must be in both French and Dutch, and individual citizens must be served in their own language. In criminal trials in Brussels, the language used by the accused becomes the language of procedure in courts of first instance and on appeal. While elsewhere the language of education is French or Dutch according to the region, the capital area has two parallel educational systems, and students must be taught in their mother tongue. There is no free parental choice on this point. Unlike those in the rest of the country, Brussels schools are required to teach the second official language as a subject, beginning with the eight- to nine-year-olds. Street names appear in both French and Dutch—*Rue de la science* and *Wetenschapstraat*.

24. Perhaps the most interesting feature is that the central government introduced in 1963 a control agency to oversee public linguistic use in the capital by creating the office of Vice-Governor of Brabant. Among other functions, this official is charged with supervision of the linguistic laws as they apply to the capital. He holds certain control over municipal by-laws, to ensure their publication in both official languages, and he has a more positive mandate to develop educational institutions, promote acknowledgement of the official languages, encourage cultural activities, and generally co-ordinate the development of the capital in its national and international setting.

25. Brussels, then, exemplifies a large metropolitan capital provided with a special bilingual status by central government legislation and situated between two unilingual sectors of the country. Legal equality between the French and Dutch languages has been pursued systematically despite the preponderance of Francophones in the city's population. In such a setting various areas of friction still remain, but in recent years the population of the capital has proved a moderating influence, a third force helping to mediate between the more extreme positions taken on linguistic issues by the populations of the unilingual sectors of the country.

26. In Finland the language laws are applied according to the linguistic composition of each municipality, as we noted in Book I.¹ The capital city, Helsinki, is in this respect no exception: as in other municipalities with an official-language minority exceeding 10 per cent, central government services must by law be provided in Finnish and in Swedish, with the language of the majority in the district concerned determining the internal language of work. Helsinki

27. Like other cities in Finland, Helsinki—or Helsingfors—has a strong Swedish heritage, a reminder of the time when the Finnish-speaking population was predominantly rural and the population of the towns was mainly Swedish-speaking. Increasing urbanization brought about a Finnish majority in the capital after 1900 and a strong preponderance since the 1920's, but even at the census of 1960 those who spoke Swedish constituted 14 per cent of the population in the capital, compared with only 7 per cent in the country at large. Helsinki, like Brussels, has become a relatively large metropolitan centre, accounting in 1960 for 10 per cent of the country's population, and it is today the principal cultural centre of Finland for both official-language communities.

28. Our chief interest in Helsinki was in discovering local political and administrative institutions that functioned practically and regularly in both official languages. At the time of our study, 13 of the 77 members of the elected City Council belonged to the Swedish People's party. Swedish-speaking members made it a normal practice to use Swedish at Council meetings, and news releases to the public were given out in both languages.

29. In all bilingual municipalities, central government services are provided in both Finnish and Swedish, and a certain linguistic competence is required of all public servants. In addition, Helsinki has developed comparable linguistic requirements for its own municipal employees. A city by-law establishes five levels of linguistic competence

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 221.

and assigns each civic position to one of the levels. Two points stand out. First, since Finnish is the language of the majority of the population of Helsinki, qualifications in Finnish are more stringent at each level than those in Swedish. Second, the two higher linguistic categories apply to the more senior civic positions, such as heads or deputy heads of departments. For example, the highest level, demanding a "complete control" of Finnish and a "good" ability to write and speak Swedish, applies to only five of the most senior administrative positions, namely, the City Clerk, the City Solicitor, the City Archivist, and the two senior officials of the Tax department. The next category, covering some 84 positions, requires a "complete control" of Finnish and a "satisfactory" ability to write and speak Swedish. The city offers training courses to enable its officials to learn the second language.

30. In Helsinki, then, even though there has been less stress on full legal equality of the official languages than in Brussels, both linguistic communities have found a satisfactory environment. Despite an increasing imbalance of numbers in recent decades, the capital of Finland has developed such an effective institutional bilingualism that the Swedish-speaking minority—perhaps on account of its relatively prosperous economic status—has had no major grievances on linguistic matters.

Bern

31. Bern, the capital of Switzerland, is a relatively small city, comprising at the 1960 census only 163,000 persons, or about 3 per cent of the country's total population. It is surpassed in size by Zurich, Basel, and Geneva, but it is more centrally located than any of these. It is largely German-speaking: in 1960, some 6 per cent of the population was of French mother tongue and 6 per cent was of Italian mother tongue, though four-fifths of the latter were not Swiss citizens. Thus citizens of the two smaller official-language groups are underrepresented in the capital in comparison with their numbers in the Swiss population as a whole.

32. Bern's cultural tradition, however, is rather complex. In earlier periods the Bernese aristocracy played a leading part in the politics of the Swiss Confederation and ruled over some of the French- and Italian-speaking territories of today's Switzerland. Though German-speaking in its origin, this aristocracy was highly receptive to French culture and spoke French as the common language of European polite society. Yet there has remained a strong tradition of local pride, pride in the Bernese German dialect, in cantonal particularism, and, as elsewhere in Switzerland, in municipal autonomy. This complex heritage has direct implications for Bern today as capital of the Swiss Confederation.

33. The Swiss formula for linguistic accommodation, as we have noted in Book I, rests on a firm belief in the principle of territoriality,¹ which in this context means a recognition that any canton or any local linguistic area has a right to preserve its linguistic character against all influences tending to alter or endanger it. In Bern this tradition of local autonomy in linguistic matters has proved stronger than the city's role as capital. Accordingly the municipality itself is officially unilingual: municipal services and street signs appear in German only; and German is the language of instruction in public elementary and secondary education. In short, there is little formal recognition of the fact that the canton of Bern—of which the city of Bern is also the capital—has two official languages, and that the Confederation has three.

34. Yet, at the informal level, there is more accommodation in linguistic matters than might appear at first glance. Educational difficulties for Francophone children of both cantonal and federal public servants are alleviated by a system of government grants to a private French-language school. The cantonal schools begin instruction in one of the other official languages at an earlier age than do most other cantons. French is almost universally spoken in the commercial sectors of the city, as well as in governmental circles. In spite of Bern's status of official unilingualism at the municipal level, a Francophone Swiss or visitor can lead a complete and rounded life in French without resorting to the language of the majority—though the same possibility does not seem to exist for those whose mother tongue is Italian.

35. In short, the local autonomy of the capital city has been given priority over the linguistic considerations of the Confederation as a whole, at least at the institutional level. The reasons may be found in the highly decentralized nature of Swiss society. That this system has worked without excessive friction has been due to a broad accommodation to one of the minority languages in practice, as well as to the high historical prestige of the French language and culture among the Bernese themselves.

36. South Africa's decision to establish a divided capital has already been mentioned. About the linguistic arrangements in the two cities concerned, little need be said. We have already described in Book I how South Africa has chosen to apply the principle of personality in language matters,¹ by virtue of which governmental services and educational facilities are made available in both Afrikaans and English everywhere in the country. Further, the second official language is taught on a compulsory basis in all schools, and high standards of

Pretoria and
Cape Town

¹ *Ibid.*, § 231.

achievement are demanded. In such a setting there is no need for special linguistic arrangements in Cape Town or Pretoria: citizens speaking either official language are able to deal with public authorities in either Afrikaans or English, and services in the private sector are also extensively available in both languages.

37. On a more informal level, some balance is achieved in that Afrikaans is the more frequently heard language in Pretoria, while English is more usual in Cape Town. Neither city can be considered the major metropolis of South Africa in the sense that Brussels is in Belgium or Helsinki in Finland. At the 1960 census Cape Town accounted for 3 per cent and Pretoria for 2 per cent of the total South African population.

38. South Africa, then, is a country that has not felt the need to make special linguistic arrangements for its two capital cities, primarily because measures for equality of the two official languages have been applied on a country-wide basis.

D. The Canadian Experience

39. In historical perspective, Canada has had more than its share of difficulties in selecting and developing an acceptable federal capital, and the problem had its origin long before Confederation. For almost half a century after the division of Canada in 1791, the two colonies had their separate capitals, Lower Canada at Quebec City—whose claims as a seat of government extend back to 1608—and Upper Canada—after a brief episode at Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake)—at the town of York, which became the city of Toronto in 1834.

Union of the
two Canadas

40. The union of the two Canadas in 1840 gave rise to the problem: several cities contended for the honour of becoming the capital of the United Province, and the issue quickly became a source of bitter political division. From 1840 until Confederation, the “seat of government” question was seldom far below the surface of political debate.

41. At first, Lord Sydenham, the Governor General, chose Kingston, midway between Montreal and Toronto. A handsome neo-classical limestone building was constructed to house the Parliament of the United Province; today it serves as Kingston’s City Hall. The choice, however, soon proved unpopular in the legislature, and, after heated debates, a formal motion was passed in November 1843 to transfer the capital to Montreal, at that time the largest urban centre of the United Province. Montreal’s tenure also proved short, however, for

¹ *Ibid.*, §§ 234-8.

following the riots and burning of the Parliament Buildings precipitated by the passage of the Rebellion Losses Bill in 1849, the capital was transferred again.

42. For a time a solution was sought by means of a rotating capital: the seat of government alternated between Quebec City and Toronto, being first moved to Toronto in 1849, then to Quebec City in 1852, back to Toronto in 1855, and back again to Quebec City in 1859, where it remained until 1865. The alternating arrangement soon proved so expensive and inconvenient that the search for a more permanent arrangement was renewed.

43. However, the rotating or "perambulating" system was not without advantages. In 1855 the Governor General, Sir Edmund Head, reported that, after sessional residence at Quebec City, the Upper Canadian members had learned more about French Canada and had shed some of their prejudices "by living in good fellowship and brotherhood with their French brethren." He also felt the Lower Canadian members would similarly benefit from residence in Toronto. Sir Richard Cartwright, writing almost half a century afterwards of his own first experience as a member of Parliament at Quebec City in 1863, gave similar testimony as to how such an experience broke down the "English insularity of thought" of the members from Ontario.¹

44. When the question of a capital could not be resolved by domestic means, the legislature agreed in 1857 to petition the Queen to select a permanent site by an exercise of the royal prerogative. Though claims were advanced on behalf of all the contending cities, a confidential memorandum by Sir Edmund Head is believed to have been primarily responsible for the selection of Ottawa by the Queen's advisers.²

Ottawa as
capital of
the United
Province

45. The crucial paragraph of his memorandum, which has often been quoted, stresses the unique locational advantages:

Ottawa is the only place which will be accepted by the majority of Upper and Lower Canada as a fair compromise. With the exception of Ottawa, every one of the cities proposed is an object of jealousy to each of the others. Ottawa is, in fact, neither in Upper nor Lower Canada. Literally it is in the former; but a bridge alone divides it from the latter. Consequently its selection would fulfil the letter of any pledge given or supposed to be given, to Upper Canada at the time of the Union. The population at present is partly French, English and Irish. The settlement of the valley of the Ottawa is rapidly increasing, and will be at once stimulated by making it the capital.

¹ W. Eggleston, *The Queen's Choice* (Ottawa, 1961), 101; Sir Richard Cartwright, *Reminiscences* (Toronto, 1912), 6-8.

² The full text is worth careful study even today. See the extensive extracts in Eggleston, *The Queen's Choice*, 102-3, 106.

In this passage, as in the rest of the memorandum, geographic location is a prime consideration; he ruled out both Toronto and Quebec as lying too far at the extremes of the province to be acceptable to representatives from the other half; a central city afforded the best chance for compromise. The brief reference to the ethnic and linguistic balance of the contemporary population of Ottawa is not further stressed as his argument continues.

46. The Governor General did go on to emphasize quite explicitly, however, that the capital should be in Upper Canada, and he made quite clear his own view that the upper portion of the province would sooner or later predominate over the lower—even apart from any plans for federation of British North America. In his view, any solution that placed the capital in Lower Canada—even in Montreal—would, therefore, leave the question open to re-examination as soon as the preponderance of Upper Canada was clearly established. In his view, the successful resolution of the problem lay in selecting a site that, while *in* Upper Canada, would satisfy the commercial interests of Montreal. On this basis could be built a sufficient consensus. Ottawa fulfilled these requirements.

47. In taking such a stand, Head clearly shared the attitudes that his predecessor, Lord Durham, had expressed 20 years earlier; he had felt that the French Canadian influence in Canada was bound to diminish in time. Such a viewpoint proved to be an augury for the future: Head's repeated suggestion that the capital should be "literally in Upper Canada" was clearly at variance with his first suggestion that "Ottawa is, in fact, neither in Upper nor Lower Canada." This fundamental ambiguity was to grow sharper with the passage of time.

48. Head discussed other arguments for making Ottawa the capital, but we need not be concerned with the details here. Some had only a temporary significance. He was impressed with the military advantages of Ottawa: the problems of attack from the American border are raised six times in the three-page memorandum. He believed that the larger cities offered too many opportunities for lobbying the government. He felt that it was questionable whether in America legislation could best be carried out in a great commercial city. Among more incidental advantages, the selection of Ottawa would stimulate the settlement of the Ottawa valley and develop the country inland from the frontier; it would lie astride the Ottawa River route to the west; and even the Rideau Canal, which he considered "a dead loss" to that point, might be turned to some advantage.

Ottawa as
federal capital

49. Though Ottawa was officially chosen as capital at the end of 1857, the government of the United Province was not transferred

there until after the completion of the Parliament Buildings, in 1865. Its history as Union capital was short indeed, for by 1866 it was selected by delegates to the Quebec Conference as capital for the proposed federation of British North America. The continuance of the federal capital on the same site was hardly surprising, for the new Parliament Buildings, as critics noted, were built on a grander scale than was required by the Province of Canada at the time.

50. The transition from provincial to federal capital thus did not bring immediate changes in the physical development of Ottawa, but it did bring one major jurisdictional change, which appears to have attracted little notice during the preliminaries to Confederation. The Union Parliament, which held its first and only session in Ottawa in 1866, had the rather rudimentary structure of municipal government in the United Province within its own legislative competence. The federal Parliament that succeeded it in 1867 was in a very different position. Its seat was in a city over which it had, by the terms of federation, no direct legislative control, a city subordinate to the new provincial legislature in Toronto. As well, the growing settlement across the Ottawa River was similarly placed under the control of still another provincial legislature in Quebec City.

Jurisdictional
change

51. Although Sir Edmund Head's private memorandum did refer briefly to the French, English, and Irish origins of the Ottawa population of the period, the ethnic composition of the proposed capital appears not to have been a major factor in its selection. In an age when transport and communications were considerably more difficult than they are today, geographic location appears to have been the first consideration.

Importance of
the capital's
geographic
location

52. Still, Head's repeated admonition that the capital must be *in* Upper Canada rather than across the river was not without its long-run implications. Ottawa has remained an Ontario city, and our research on its contemporary language use encountered a host of illustrations of the point. In 1857 Head had noted the bridge that linked Ottawa to Lower Canada. By 1965 the urbanized sector of the capital area had spread widely on both sides of the river, and the number of bridges had increased to four, but the river they span remains, in a psychological sense, perhaps the widest in Canada.

A. Defining the Capital Area

53. The concept of the federal capital may be understood in at least three ways. First, there is the notion of a capital in the most direct juridical and constitutional sense, which is customarily taken to mean the city of Ottawa.¹ The present concentration of federal buildings in the city lends credence to this notion, and indeed, the federal government's recent decision to locate some government departments in Hull resulted in some debate on the grounds that the city of Ottawa is the capital. Also, at one time some buildings such as the Royal Mint had, by federal statute, to be located in Ottawa. Of late, however, this concept of the capital is being questioned. To use the same example, the Currency, Mint and Exchange Fund Act, as amended in 1968, now allows the Mint to be located anywhere "within the national capital region."² However, this distinction was not often made in the past and has been of considerable consequence to the development of the whole region.

The juridical and
constitutional
capital

¹ Yet the British North America Act is imprecise on this point. Section 16 merely says: "Until the Queen otherwise directs the Seat of Government of Canada shall be Ottawa." By contrast, section 68 designates the original four provincial capitals as "City of Toronto," "City of Quebec," "City of Halifax," and "City of Fredericton." Ottawa had become a city in 1855, and at Confederation comprised an area of 1829 acres, or about three square miles, as compared to 45 square miles today.

² During the debate of Bill No. S-23 (An Act to amend the Currency, Mint and Exchange Fund Act and the Criminal Code, S.C. 1967-68, 16-17 Eliz. II, c.26), a proposed amendment suggested by the Opposition that would have substituted the words "national capital region" with "Ottawa" was defeated. In his defence of that section of the bill, the minister of Finance stated: "There are many departments in the government of Canada that have offices in other parts of the national capital region and I can see no reason why the mint should be an exception. I recognize of course, that it is almost universal practice to have the mint located in the capital region, but there is no specific reason why it should be located in the city of Ottawa any more than should the printing bureau or any other department of government. There is nothing sacrosanct about the mint which would require that it be located within the municipal boundary of Ottawa. Indeed, in the interests of the country as a whole I would have thought it would be well not to have the national capital region identified with the province of Ontario but rather as a part of a complex of Ontario and Quebec." Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, February 8, 1968, 2nd session, 6512.

The metropolitan
census area

54. Second, the federal capital can be thought of more generally, as the entire built-up area that has grown up around Ottawa and Hull to accommodate the population that lives and works in an urban setting. At the 1966 census this urban area, comprising 13 different municipalities, had a combined population of almost half a million and an area of about 335 square miles, including some parts which were still rural. This is the area selected for close study in our research on the capital, and it is also the area for which the Dominion Bureau of Statistics provides the most complete social and economic data as one of Canada's 17 metropolitan census areas.

55. This concept is the most realistic view of the present-day capital in two other senses. First, the local population has been increasingly moving to the suburbs: by 1966, 41 per cent of the urban population lived outside the city of Ottawa. Furthermore, the surrounding municipalities are becoming, to a limited extent, locations for federal departments and agencies. The Canadian Government Printing Office is now in Hull, the Office of the Chief Electoral Officer was for a time in Eastview (although it is now back in Ottawa), and a new complex of buildings is at present under construction to the west of Ottawa in Nepean township; some buildings are already occupied.

The National
Capital Region

56. A third conception of the federal capital is the National Capital Region, a still larger area, over which the federal government has given statutory powers of planning and development to a federal agency created for that purpose. As far back as 1927, the Federal District Commission was granted powers to plan, develop, and improve the capital area on both sides of the Ottawa River; its successor, the National Capital Commission, today has jurisdiction over an area of approximately 1,800 square miles shaped roughly like a square, with the urban core near the centre. Much of this land is still rural or suburban (*see map at p. 122*).

57. The Ontario portion of the National Capital Region, comprising some 1,050 square miles, has boundaries roughly parallel to those of the new metropolitan government—the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton—recently established by the province of Ontario. Though the lines do not coincide, the two jurisdictions are almost identical in size and very similar in the areas covered.

58. What we mean by the term “federal capital” varies somewhat depending upon the context in which we use it. In the constitutional and judicial sense, the capital is the city of Ottawa. When we speak of it in the light of present-day linguistic and social problems, we include in the federal capital the 13 municipalities of the 1961 metropolitan census area. When we think of long-term planning and expansion, we see it as a wider area, roughly that of the National Capital

Region. (On the Ontario side, the federal and provincial governments are substantially in agreement on the extent of this area.)

B. Federal Jurisdiction and Federal Interest in the Capital Area

59. It is relatively easy to suggest a general principle of equal partnership for the capital; it is far more difficult to demonstrate the ways in which it might be implemented. In our study of the national capital, we say that one of the most outstanding facts was the complexity of governmental relations in the area.¹ There are many problems stemming from divided jurisdiction; this is not surprising, for it is clear that divided jurisdiction is a permanent and basic characteristic of federal states. In federal capitals, however, the problems of divided jurisdiction tend to multiply from the very fact that the federal authority is physically present and interacting with local authorities and local interests.

60. All federations have encountered problems in the government of their capitals, but they have sought to resolve these problems in a variety of ways. A Canadian authority on municipal government, Professor D. C. Rowat, has noted that six capitals (including Ottawa) come under the jurisdiction of a state, province, or canton, while nine come within a federal district. Vienna is itself a state of the Austrian federation, while Lagos is a federal district, following the restructuring of the Nigerian federation.² Each type of solution has certain advantages and each raises characteristic problems.

61. To clarify the respective roles of the four levels of government in the capital area—that is, federal, provincial, municipal, and regional—we define these roles in two different ways and seek to distinguish between them.

62. To take the federal government first, one may define the federal role first in terms of constitutional jurisdiction, that is, what the federal government or its various agencies can do in its own right. The federal government has the same competence in the capital area as in any other part of Canada. Its departments and agencies operate post offices, collect taxes, distribute pensions and family allowances, and so on. But beyond this, the federal government through its agencies has the power to do something more by the very fact that the area is the seat of the federal government. By federal statute the National Capital

Federal
jurisdiction

¹ K. D. McRae, ed., *The Federal Capital: Government Institutions*, Studies of the R.C.B. & B., No. 1 (Ottawa, 1969).
² See D. C. Rowat, "The Problems of Governing Federal Capitals," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, I, No. 3 (September, 1968), 345-6.

Commission has had since 1959 various legal powers related to its general purpose of improving and developing the National Capital Region. Its predecessors, dating back to 1899, had a similar function, though over a smaller territory. Other federal agencies also enter the picture. For example, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police are responsible for policing Parliament Hill and the federal parkways.

63. Since the written Constitution of Canada makes no express grant of power to the federal government in relation to its seat of government, the precise limits of these powers for the capital area are difficult to set down. All the same, they do exist. One illustration of this may be seen in the Munro case, in which the Supreme Court of Canada upheld the right of the National Capital Commission to expropriate land for the purpose of developing the capital.¹ The boundaries of federal jurisdiction have thus been established by a network of custom and judicial precedent rather than by explicit constitutional grant. Of course, opinions may differ as to whether federal jurisdiction over the capital area is presently insufficient, adequate, or dangerously large or ill defined.

Federal interest

64. A second and less legalistic way of looking at the federal role in the capital is to consider, in a broader sense, the areas of federal government involvement or concern, whether through its own agencies or through joint action with other levels of government. For this notion we might apply a term current in American urban studies: "federal interest." As defined by one authority in the context of metropolitan Washington:

Federal Interest . . . connotes involvement and degrees or kinds of involvement by the many agencies and officials of the federal government. Federal Interest . . . consists, then, of what federal officials and agencies do and how they do it in the National Capital region, whatever the constitutional basis or the local jurisdiction.

In this sense, Federal Interest becomes a political, not a legal concept.

He goes on to note that the federal interest is manifested differently in the District of Columbia, where the federal Congress has special legislative authority, and in the suburban municipalities in the adjacent states of Maryland and Virginia, where it has not.²

Difference between jurisdiction and interest

65. Some Canadian examples may serve to illustrate the differences between federal jurisdiction and federal interest as we have defined them. The National Capital Commission and its predecessor, the Federal District Commission, were given broad planning powers by statute, which resulted in the publication in 1950 of the comprehensive *Plan*

¹ *Munro v. National Capital Commission*, *Canada Law Reports*, Supreme Court of Canada, S.C.R. 1966, Part VIII, 663.

² Royce Hanson, *The Anatomy of the Federal Interest* (Washington, D.C., 1967), 13-4.

for the National Capital.¹ Yet these federal agencies have never been able to implement the master plan directly, since legislative authority over planning is a provincial matter. Accordingly, to further the federal concern for planning in the capital area, the planning services of the National Capital Commission often are made available to those municipalities desiring them. Again, since the federal authorities can implement the master plan for the capital on federally owned lands, in practice they have compensated for the absence of legislative jurisdiction by extensive purchases and expropriation.

66. Another example of federal interest in this sense is the activity of various federal agencies which, while country-wide in scope and purpose, have had a rather large impact on the life of the capital area as a result of their physical presence and activity there. Examples of this include the National Museums, the National Library, and the National Arts Centre. All in all, federal agencies account for a substantial portion of the cultural activity in the capital area.

67. In the context of the Canadian federal capital of today it would seem that the federal interest is considerably wider than direct federal constitutional jurisdiction. Presumably this is at least in part due to the absence of any explicit legislative competence for the federal government. One consequence has been that the federal interest has taken the form of heavy financial involvement in the area. Annual federal expenditures on development and improvement alone in the capital area vary from year to year but have been as high as 36.6 million dollars in 1967-8.²

68. Of course, opinions will vary as to what activities belong properly to the federal interest in the capital. There are doubtless many who would consider its present extent as dangerous, and even unconstitutional. Some might wish to see federal government concern restricted rigorously to areas explicitly within its own jurisdiction. On this point we think two comments should be made. First, while the notion of jurisdiction defines which level of government has ultimate legislative authority, the concept of federal interest opens up possibilities of joint action and intergovernmental co-operation, and also, it must be admitted, possibilities of divergence and conflict. Second, in deciding this question it seems sensible to consider first what would be a rational allocation of responsibilities in the capital among federal, provincial, and local authorities, clearly recognizing that this is a problem characteristic of all federal states, not just of Canada. Then it may be asked whether this allocation calls for jurisdictional changes.

¹ National Capital Planning Service, *Plan for the National Capital*, General Report Submitted to the National Capital Planning Committee (Ottawa, 1950).

² *Annual Report of the National Capital Commission*, 1967-8.

History of federal
interest

69. The question of what has been the federal interest in practice may perhaps best be seen from an historical perspective. Speaking generally, one can identify three broad topics of concern in the past. The first has been the provision of government buildings, beginning with the Parliament Buildings before Confederation, and continuing, through the further acquisition of federally owned and leased space, to the present day. This is of course a basic prerequisite in any capital, and is today handled primarily by the department of Public Works.

70. A second concern has been the improvement of the physical appearance of the capital. This phase, which began only in the 1890's, was first given institutional form with the creation of the Ottawa Improvement Commission in 1899. Today it remains the prime purpose of the National Capital Commission.

71. A third, more recent, less precisely defined concern of the federal government has been with the cultural aspects of the capital. It is more difficult to trace the emergence of this concern with precision. The National Gallery had its modest beginnings in 1880. Undoubtedly the *Report of the Royal Commission on National Development of the Arts, Letters and Sciences* (the Massey Commission) in 1951 was a major stimulus to a wider federal role. The new National Gallery building (1959), the National Library (1967), and the National Arts Centre (1969) have all been achieved in the wake of this report. Another important aspect, often taken for granted, is the extent to which the federal government has contributed to the development of parks and recreational facilities in the region.

72. Only in very recent years, however, has this interest in the quality of cultural life been extended to include a federal concern that the image presented by the capital to the visitor or newcomer should adequately reflect both of Canada's official languages. Even today no federal agency seems to have become explicitly and centrally concerned with the problem; in the long-drawn-out battle over bilingual traffic signs in the city of Ottawa,¹ to take one minor example, no persistent and vigorous federal voice has been heard. However, it seems reasonable to predict that in the years immediately ahead this issue will become a fourth distinct topic of federal concern in the capital.

C. Relations among Federal, Provincial, and Local Interests

73. In the same way we have defined a federal jurisdiction and interest in the capital, we may think of corresponding provincial and local jurisdictions and interests. Both these levels of government have

¹ See McRae, ed., *The Federal Capital*, Appendix C.

a broad jurisdiction everywhere in the capital area, and the two levels are interrelated in the sense that, under section 92 of the British North America Act, authority over municipal governments is vested in the provincial governments.

74. Generally speaking, the respective jurisdictions of the provincial and municipal governments in the capital area are the same in extent as those existing in other parts of Ontario and Quebec. Yet here also the position is not entirely clear-cut, for the powers of provincial and local authorities in the area are blurred and even diminished by virtue of those federal powers of developing and improving the National Capital Region we have already mentioned.

75. We have noted that the federal interest, in the broad sense, is considerably more extensive than the area of formal federal jurisdiction. At the provincial and municipal levels the discrepancy seems not to be so wide, perhaps because the relevant jurisdictions are already quite extensive. Nevertheless, the distinction remains and examples of variations can be found. To cite just one case, prior to 1959 the cities of Ottawa and Hull each had the right to name a representative to the Federal District Commission; they have sought ever since to regain this right with respect to the National Capital Commission. Even in the absence of formal representation, however, it seems clear that there is considerable co-operation and interaction between area municipalities and the Commission.

76. We have gained the firm impression, after considering at some length the roles of the three levels of government in the capital, that the provincial and municipal levels—in combination—leave a far stronger and more direct imprint than the federal one on the pattern of life of the citizens. This conclusion is hardly surprising in the light of the Canadian federal system in general, but we think it worthwhile to note it specifically in relation to the federal capital area, since each level of government has its own legitimate perspective, within which it pursues its prescribed objectives. Thus the fact that the provincial-municipal perspective predominates even in the federal capital area is important.

Predominance of
the provincial-
municipal per-
spective

77. Our research on the federal capital concentrated most intensively on the linguistic policies of the various levels of government there.¹ With respect to the level of *provincial* government services, in general the provincial government offices in the Quebec sector of the capital area were better organized to serve the public in both French and English than were those in the Ontario sector. While three out of 11 local offices on the Ontario side offered reasonably complete service

Provincial linguistic
policies

¹ For a detailed view of the findings, see *ibid.*, Chaps. II-V.

in both languages, all 12 of the local Quebec offices did so. While approximately 22 per cent of Ontario public servants in the capital area were bilingual, about 90 per cent of their Quebec counterparts were. Both figures, however, were above the province-wide averages for public servants—8 per cent in Ontario and 62 per cent in Quebec.

78. Linguistic policy in each province was left substantially to individual departments, resulting in considerable variation from one office to another. In both sectors there was evidence of some pragmatic adjustment to the linguistic needs of the population served, but "It would appear that in the first hundred years of Confederation no significant consideration has been given by either province to the peculiar linguistic and cultural needs of the Ottawa area in its role as the capital of Canada."¹ In a word, official linguistic practice at the provincial level in both sectors of the capital is modelled closely on province-wide norms; these norms have been relatively generous in Quebec, though less so in Ontario.

Municipal
linguistic practices

79. The linguistic practices of the municipal governments of the capital area are similar. In the city of Ottawa, official communications with the public—as well as the internal language of work—are mainly in English, telephone requests in French encountered difficulties in certain departments, public notices and forms were frequently available only in English, and about 29 per cent of the salaried staff were bilingual in French and English. On the whole, however, "the strongest impression that emerges from an examination of the Ottawa administration itself is that it views linguistic and cultural questions from a fundamentally provincial perspective. Nowhere in this phase of the study did we discover any significant sentiment that Ottawa's position as the federal capital should have a bearing on language policy at City Hall."²

80. The other 12 municipalities of the Ottawa metropolitan area showed just as strongly the influence of the provincial framework: "Quebec both obliges and encourages its municipalities to be bilingual; Ontario does not."³ The consequences of this basic difference were seen in services offered to the public, in official documents, in linguistic requirements or preferences in the recruitment of staff, and in the degree of staff bilingualism.

81. The city of Vanier, the only municipality in the Ontario sector with a majority of Francophones in its population, was of particular interest. Even here it was found that the municipality's relations with the province were a major influence on language use: "All eight depart-

¹ *Ibid.*, 67.

² *Ibid.*, 71.

³ *Ibid.*, 112.

ment heads who were interviewed either stated or implied that this factor was extremely potent in buttressing the use of English by the administration. Not only are all direct relations with the province carried out in English but, in one department at least, matters which the department head believes might reach the province are dealt with in English.”¹ If provincial norms impose certain requirements in terms of English, however, Vanier is also interesting in that it demonstrates how successfully bilingual services to the public can be developed by municipal initiative alone, without provincial encouragement.

82. There is no need to multiply the evidence as to language. Our point is simply that provincial and municipal influences in combination have contributed heavily to shaping present linguistic arrangements in the capital area, and that these arrangements have been almost invariably viewed in the perspective of Ontario or Quebec, depending on the sector concerned, rather than of Canada as a whole.

83. This conclusion may be extended far beyond the question of linguistic arrangements. The school systems of the capital area are organized according to patterns characteristic of Ontario and Quebec respectively. The courts in each sector follow the same linguistic practices and the same organization as in the remainder of each province. The elected municipal councils are established according to province-wide legislative norms, and so on. When an issue involving a difference of outlook between federal and local authorities arises—as for example, the present controversy over heights of buildings in Ottawa—it is the city that decides on the building permit and a provincial agency, the Ontario Municipal Board, that hears objections from interested parties (including federal agencies) and makes the ultimate decision.

Other areas of interest

84. This pervasive imprint of provincially oriented institutions on the life of the region has left its mark on the attitudes of the population in both sectors of the capital. The Ottawa River, as we have already noted, is in a psychological sense very wide indeed. The wall of separation between the two sides was asserted categorically and in some sense officially in the city of Ottawa’s own brief to the Jones Commission:

Effect on local attitudes

Despite the fact that economically the Ontario and Quebec communities are tending to form a whole with a common pool of labour, with a developing pattern of standard labour rates as between communities and with a large volume of interprovincial and interurban commerce, nevertheless the physical fact of the River and the political fact of a provincial boundary must be recognized as having established perhaps for all times two municipalities whose governments must continue to separate.²

¹ *Ibid.*, 104.

² Brief submitted by the City of Ottawa to the Ottawa, Eastview and Carleton County Local Government Review, April 1965, 2.

85. That this is not an isolated phrase is borne out by many other examples. A motorist on reaching the Ottawa city limits is greeted by signs that record the present city population as 299,000, and the "metropolitan" population as 401,000—a figure that clearly ignores the Quebec sector of the metropolitan area as defined by the federal census. In March 1968, Ottawa's Board of Control recommended dropping a city by-law requiring that city employees reside within the city limits. The restriction was subsequently partially eased, but a majority of City Council insisted that city employees must reside in Ontario, and the law was amended accordingly.¹ But the most ubiquitous evidence is undoubtedly the language of traffic signs and highway markings; throughout the Ontario sector the bilingual signs of the federal driveways stand out in sharp symbolic contrast with the more numerous municipal and provincial ones in English only.

86. The strength of local and regional feeling in the Ontario sector has been succinctly epitomized by an area member of Parliament, who told the House, "The national capital, Ottawa, has a dual distinction; first it is the shire town or county town of the county of Carleton and, second, it is the capital of Canada."² No close observer of the local scene will be unduly surprised at the apparent order of priorities.

87. The Quebec sector reveals a similar tendency for attitudes to be locally or provincially oriented, and in part this may be seen as a simple reaction to attitudes in the Ontario sector. However, the different circumstances of the western Quebec region lead to differences in emphasis. Economic problems bulk large. Residents of this sector, which is the smaller and less prosperous of the two, are constantly aware of the larger urban area across the Ottawa River, but their sense of alienation is increased by the feeling that they have not participated fully in the major "industry" of the capital area—the federal administration. There is a similar feeling that the western Quebec region, which is isolated geographically from the rest of the province, has been neglected by the provincial government as well. On the other hand, the predominantly Francophone population of this sector of the capital is conscious that by virtue of its strong Francophone majorities both regionally and in the province at large, it has no significant linguistic problems compared to those of the Francophones of Ottawa. One proposal that appears to have found considerable support has been the creation of a provincially appointed Commission québécoise de la région de la capitale nationale, which would generally assume the

¹ City of Ottawa By-law 108-68, passed April 16, 1968.

² Richard A. Bell, in Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, October 11, 1966, 1st session, 8536.

functions of the federal National Capital Commission and also play an active part in the development of the wider western Quebec region.¹

88. We consider that the provincial border has had profound consequences for the Francophone community in the capital, for it divides this community almost exactly in half. The one half is most acutely concerned with problems of underdevelopment in the economic sense, and looks primarily to Quebec City for their solution; the other is pre-occupied with problems of cultural preservation as a Francophone minority in an Anglophone region and province. In such a setting, an integrated, culturally productive Francophone community has, quite understandably, been unable to develop and thrive.

89. In summary, we consider that both Francophones and Anglophones in the capital have developed an outlook strongly influenced by regional and local considerations, and that the institutional framework has contributed heavily to the formation of that outlook. In particular, we are concerned about the apparent effects of the provincial boundary on the formation of attitudes. In accordance with our terms of reference, we have taken as our basic principle the development of a capital based on an equal partnership of Francophones and Anglophones. Yet we cannot see the basis for doing this in a setting where half the Francophone population feels alienated and physically cut off from the centre of federal government activity in the capital and the other half lives as an underprivileged linguistic minority in conditions where equality has for generations been manifestly absent.

Summary

90. This is our perception of the present situation of the capital. In formulating proposals for reform we shall constantly bear in mind that two quite distinct major problems are involved. First, the predominantly Francophone Quebec sector must attain a position of full participation in the area's role as federal capital. This perspective in no way denies the need for independent socio-economic development of the Quebec sector, through whatever measures the federal, provincial, or municipal levels of government may undertake separately or together; it merely underlines our concern with the relation of the Quebec sector to the capital region. Second, the Francophone minority in the Ontario sector must attain a position of equality with its Anglophone fellow citizens. Both problems must find a solution if a meaningful equal partnership is to develop in the capital area. Nor may we forget that there is a small Anglophone minority on the Quebec side. Our study of the capital area revealed no major difficulties and relatively few inconveniences for these Anglophones, but their position also should be measured against our basic principle of equality.

¹ See Le Conseil économique régional de l'Ouest du Québec, *Le territoire québécois de la Région de la Capitale nationale* (Hull, 1967), 38-42.

A. Introduction

91. In earlier volumes of this *Report*, we have discussed at some length our interpretation of the notion of equal partnership in different settings. In our view, the principle can be looked at separately in relation to linguistic régimes, educational structures, the work world, mass media, the arts and letters, and so on. But it must also be looked at somewhat differently in different jurisdictions; that is to say, its meaning at the federal level may be different from its meaning at the provincial or local level, and even different from one area to another within the same province.

Effect of different settings

92. The reasons for these variations may be traced to the complexities of Canadian society. In some parts of the country, English predominates; in others, French; in some areas, French and English have coexisted for a considerable period. It is clear to us that the geographic distribution and the degree of concentration of those who speak French or English suggest criteria as to what kinds of services ought to be provided in either language. In great metropolitan areas more may be possible than where settlement is sparse.

93. Similarly, existing political structures are important. Canada is a federal state, and the provinces are in many respects independent of the federal government. Throughout our work, therefore, we have sought solutions that will fit the geographic, demographic, and political configurations of Canada.

94. Beyond this, we have recognized in earlier volumes that certain real choices lie before Canadians today. In Book I we considered and

The general principle

rejected solutions based on a general extension of unilingual territories; instead we deliberately opted for the principle that the official-language minorities—both the Anglophone minority in Quebec and the Franco-phone minorities in other provinces—should continue to exist and to thrive wherever they are numerous enough to be viable.¹

Linguistic régimes

95. Turning now to more specific applications of equal partnership, we described in Chapter V of Book I the linguistic régimes we consider to be appropriate to each of the three levels of government in Canada—federal, provincial, and local. A fourth section of the same chapter touches on the special situation of the federal capital.

At the federal level

96. To summarize our position briefly, at the federal level we visualize a policy of full equality of the official languages, so that the public may deal with any part of the federal administration in French or in English at its option anywhere in the country or abroad. In Book III we also proposed measures to bring about greater linguistic equality within the federal Public Service, so that Francophones can participate on equal terms with Anglophones in the concerns of the federation as a whole. In a word, our view is that federal institutions should be fully bilingual in both a symbolic and a practical sense.

At the provincial
level

97. At the provincial level we suggested that three provinces might appropriately be officially bilingual; they would maintain bilingual linguistic régimes with respect to provincial legislation and the functioning of the legislature, the provincial public service, provincial courts, and education. Provinces not officially bilingual would nevertheless equip themselves to deal with local administrations operating in the minority language in bilingual districts. In all provinces, however, we recognize that the language of the majority will predominate, and that the degree of predominance will depend on numerical proportions.²

At the local level

98. At the level of local government we stressed the formation wherever appropriate of bilingual districts in which the services of all levels of government would be provided in both official languages. Within these districts, municipal councils and local government services to the public, as well as the services provided by the senior governments, would operate in both official languages. Minority-language schools would also be available.

The reality:
some continuing
inconveniences

99. Nevertheless, even the combined measures we advocate will not remove all inconveniences for Canadians living as members of an official-language minority. Even in the bilingual districts, the minority will clearly be expected to learn the language of the majority, for the

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, §§ 253-8.

² Cf. *ibid.*, § 319.

latter will undoubtedly continue to be the normal working language of the population in the province concerned.¹

100. In short, from the standpoint of the official languages, in every province there is a relation between a minority and a majority, and this stems from the demographic structure of Canada. While New Brunswick has an official-language minority of 35 per cent, the other provinces have considerably smaller ones, ranging from the English mother-tongue minority of 13 per cent in Quebec, through French mother-tongue minorities of approximately 7 per cent in Prince Edward Island, Ontario, and Manitoba, down to less than two per cent in British Columbia and Newfoundland.²

101. For the three central provinces of Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick, where 89 per cent of the members of the official-language minority live,³ we recommend full legal rights for both official languages. But in no province of Canada can it be said today that French and English are on a basis of equality in a sociological sense. In every province either French or English predominates. This is a matter not of law but of demographic and social structure. Some may deplore this absence of equality at the provincial level, but it is part of the Canadian reality.

102. In the context of Canada today, therefore, it is difficult to think of any sizable territory that may be considered, both in a juridical and a sociological sense, to be in a state of equilibrium in terms of the official languages. We think it important that such a territory should exist with respect to the federal capital. For if the capital of a bilingual country is to command the respect and loyalty of its citizens of both official languages, it should not reflect the dominance of one language over the other.

The federal capital
a special case

103. Some will ask if it is possible in the circumstances for Canada to have a bilingual capital. No one can answer this question with certainty. But we are going to propose that a serious attempt be made to develop a bilingual capital, and all our recommendations concerning the capital have been formulated with that aim in view.

104. In this respect the federal capital is like the federal government itself: it should be regarded as the property of neither Francophone nor Anglophone Canadians, but as the product of the fruitful collaboration of both, as a symbol of the things they have in common.

¹ *Ibid.*, §§ 319, 406.

² In other words, only 3 per cent of the Canadian population lives in New Brunswick, the one province where an official-language minority exceeds one third of the population. In South Africa, by contrast, 80 per cent of the white population lives in the two provinces that are linguistically mixed to this degree.

³ Cf. *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 289.

Language character-
istics of the
capital area

B. The Linguistic Patterns of the Capital Area

105. In the research findings on the federal capital, some of the linguistic characteristics of the Ottawa metropolitan census area population and the relation between linguistic and certain other social and economic data have already been presented in detail.¹ It is sufficient here simply to summarize some highlights of that analysis. Except where otherwise indicated, these data are based on the census of 1961, the latest data for which detailed statistics by mother tongue are available.

106. The overall population for the 13 municipalities of the Ottawa metropolitan census area was 429,750 in 1961, and 489,392 in 1966; for the National Capital Region, it was estimated at 492,588 in 1961 and 563,637 in 1966.

107. In the metropolitan census area as a whole, 56 per cent of the population had English as mother tongue, 38 per cent had French, and 7 per cent had other languages.² This proportion is closer to an even balance between French and English than the figures for any other major metropolitan centre in Canada, and it is also somewhat closer to an even balance than the figures for Canada as a whole.

108. The population is distributed unevenly between the Ontario and Quebec portions of the metropolitan area: 78 per cent live in Ontario, 22 per cent in Quebec. Within *each* province considered separately, there is a greater linguistic imbalance than for the metropolitan area as a whole: in the Ontario sector some 68 per cent are of English mother tongue as compared to 24 per cent of French; in the Quebec sector, 85 per cent are of French and 14 per cent are of English mother tongue.

109. The population of English mother tongue is heavily concentrated in the Ontario sector (94 per cent), as is the population of mother tongues other than English or French (95 per cent); those of French mother tongue are divided almost exactly equally between the two sectors (51 per cent in Quebec, 49 per cent in Ontario; *see* Table 1).

110. In both sectors of the metropolitan area, the distribution of mother tongues varies considerably from one municipality to another. In Ontario the figures in 1961 ranged from an English mother-tongue majority of 90 per cent in Nepean to a French mother-tongue majority of 61 per cent in Vanier. In the Quebec sector the range was from a French mother-tongue majority of 96 per cent in Pointe-Gatineau to an English mother-tongue majority of 52 per cent in Lucerne (then called Hull South).

¹ K. D. McRae, ed., *The Federal Capital: Government Institutions*, Studies of the R.C.B.&B., No. 1 (Ottawa, 1969), 1-40.

² Percentages add to more than 100 because of rounding.

Table 1. Distribution of Population in the Federal Capital

Distribution of population within mother-tongue groups, by provincial sector—Ottawa metropolitan census area, 1961

Mother tongue	Ontario		Quebec		Ottawa metropolitan census area	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
French	80,084	49.4	81,896	50.6	161,980	100
English	225,845	94.4	13,442	5.6	239,287	100
Other	26,970	94.7	1,513	5.3	28,483	100
All mother tongues	332,899	77.5	96,851	22.5	429,750	100

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-549.

111. The city of Ottawa itself had an English mother-tongue majority of 70 per cent, but its French mother-tongue minority of 21 per cent was in absolute figures the largest French mother-tongue group in the metropolitan area, numbering 57,000 as compared to the next largest French mother-tongue group of 51,000 in Hull.

112. Differences in mother tongue can also be related to socio-economic differences, though for precise comparisons it is often necessary to resort to data based on ethnic origin in the absence of data based on mother tongue.

Socio-economic factors

113. Unlike the situation in other cities, about 34 per cent of the male labour force in the Ottawa metropolitan area was employed in the public administration sector in 1961, as compared to only 6 per cent in the Toronto and Montreal areas. By municipalities, the proportion of the total labour force employed in the public administration sector was 36 per cent in Ottawa and 35 per cent in Vanier, but it dropped to 24 per cent in Hull and 13 per cent in Gatineau.

114. Some significant differences were found in the professional structure of the metropolitan area when it was analyzed according to ethnic origin. For example, 43 per cent of the male labour force of British origin worked in the public administration sector, but only 26 per cent of males of French origin did so.

115. Similar differences also showed up when different occupational categories were analyzed. For example, 35 per cent of the males of British origin, but only 17 per cent of males of French origin, were in

administrative, professional, or technical employment. Conversely, 38 per cent of males of French origin, as against 18 per cent of those of British origin, were in the craftsmen and labourer categories.

116. Levels of schooling also revealed significant variations. In 1961, 46 per cent of working males of French origin had elementary education only, as compared to 18 per cent of those of British origin. Conversely, 23 per cent of those of British origin had at least some university training, compared to 10 per cent of those of French origin.

117. There were also sizable differences in employment income. The average for males of British origin in 1961 was \$5,504 per year; those of French origin averaged \$4,008 per year. In the Ottawa area a considerably higher proportion of the disparity could be attributed to differences in educational level and occupational structure than was the case in either Montreal or Toronto.¹

Residential
patterns

118. Beyond the distribution of mother tongues in each municipality, a more detailed study of residential patterns was done by studying the language distribution in the 80 individual census tracts of the metropolitan area. It was found that, for both French and English mother-tongue groups, roughly two-thirds of each group lived in tracts of relatively high (70 per cent or more) linguistic concentration. That is, those of English and French mother tongue tended to reside in areas where their language was a substantial majority.

119. When linguistic concentration was examined in conjunction with the average income level of each tract, it was found that higher-income tracts tended to be areas of high concentrations of those of English mother tongue. To put this another way, 91 per cent of those of French mother tongue who lived in the 40 upper-income census tracts lived in areas of high concentration of English and other languages. Of these 40 tracts, only one, sector 107 in the north part of Hull, had a French mother-tongue majority (74 per cent). There is, then, little tendency for the middle- or upper-level Francophone population of the area to cluster in culturally homogeneous residential areas, such as would be analogous to Westmount or the Town of Mount Royal in the Montreal area.

120. Census tracts with lower average incomes tended to be more varied as to their linguistic composition, ranging from tracts with high concentrations of those of French mother tongue through several very mixed tracts to some with correspondingly high concentrations of population of English and other mother tongues.²

¹ See McRae, ed., *The Federal Capital*, 213-21.

² See *ibid.*, 30, 202-3.

121. Federal public servants, to a greater degree than the population at large, tended in 1961 to reside in the Ontario sector, and the tendency became more pronounced at the upper salary levels. Thus, while 78 per cent of the general population lived in the Ontario sector, the proportion rose to 85 per cent for federal public servants and to 96 per cent for those earning over \$10,000 per year. Even for public servants of French mother tongue the same tendencies were visible; while 49 per cent of the area's population of French mother tongue lived in Ontario, the proportion was 61 per cent for public servants of French mother tongue and 79 per cent for those earning over \$10,000 per year.

122. A more detailed study of residential patterns of federal public servants by sectors of the urban area suggests that while the federal Public Service as a whole shows tendencies towards linguistic concentration in certain sectors, those at the upper salary levels have a residential pattern less directly linked to their mother tongue. However, in 1961 those of French mother tongue formed only 9 per cent of public servants earning over \$10,000 per year; had they been more numerous, the residential pattern might have been different.

123. A further relevant question is the incidence of individual ability to speak both French and English. The capital area lies within the broad belt of bilingual territory that stretches from the eastern townships of Quebec through the Montreal area to the eastern counties of Ontario, and up the Ottawa valley into northern Ontario. At the 1961 census, 31 per cent of the population in the Ottawa metropolitan area reported a knowledge of both French and English, as compared to a country-wide average of 12 per cent. For the area's labour force this figure rises to 41 per cent.

Bilingualism

124. As elsewhere in Canada, bilingualism was more frequent among persons of French origin. Some 60 per cent of those of French origin, as against 10 per cent of those of British origin, were reported to be bilingual. Both figures, however, were more than twice the respective country-wide averages.

125. We attempted to discover whether bilingual members of the labour force in the Ottawa metropolitan area were used in any special way in the labour market. On the basis of 1961 census data, we concluded that ability to use both French and English in the work world was neither concentrated in specific occupational categories that demand frequent public contact nor remunerated in any special way in most occupational categories. There was every evidence that at that time the supply of bilingual skills considerably exceeded the demand for them.

Such a conclusion reinforces other evidence suggesting that the language of work in the capital area is predominantly English.

Linguistic patterns
and equal
partnership

126. The linguistic, social, and economic characteristics described here have a direct bearing on how equal partnership might be implemented in the capital area. Clearly, more is involved than language rights alone, more than a simple balancing of numbers. Beyond these necessary but elementary foundations there is a whole range of social, economic, geographic, educational, and even psychological factors to be considered in moving towards a realistic and meaningful concept of equal partnership. It is supremely important that we bear in mind the existing pattern of linguistic and social relations in the capital in proposing specific changes.

C. Equal Partnership in the Capital Area

127. Our objective, then, is to spell out for the capital, as we have done elsewhere for other parts of the country, what we consider to be the most appropriate way of applying the principle of equal partnership in this particular setting. As we have seen, the jurisdictional and demographic setting is complex, and the answer will not be an easy one. Yet this should not deter us from trying to apply this general principle.

Discomfort of
Francophones in
the capital

128. Perhaps the strongest impression to emerge from the large volume of attitudinal material concerning the federal capital is that French-speaking Canadians do not feel "at home" there. This generalized feeling of not belonging, which is particularly strong among Francophone visitors or newcomers to the capital, seems to be perceived readily enough by Francophones and Anglophones alike, though the latter may not be so sensitive to the consequences that this may have on the attitudes of the former towards Canada as a whole.

129. While we recognize the strength of the sentiment expressed in this way, we do not believe that the notion of "feeling at home" can be a useful way of defining our objective. Such terms are too vague and imprecise, and they cannot easily be defined or analyzed. Some individuals would feel "at home" virtually anywhere; others, nowhere. Besides, there is a real possibility that even an ideal federal capital from the standpoint of equal partnership would at first seem novel to someone who had previously lived in a homogeneous, unilingual, and unicultural environment.

Services and
facilities

130. Instead of dealing with the situation at the levels of feelings and perceptions, we have tried to look at the problem more specifically, by analyzing the services and facilities that a resident or visitor will

have occasion to use in daily life. Most of these contacts involve the use of language, either in written or in oral form.

131. The range of activity a citizen has in living his daily life may be looked at in various ways. One useful distinction is between the services he obtains from governments at all levels and those offered by private firms or individuals. Services in the public sector may be more easily regulated as to language use. Another useful distinction to bear in mind is the notion of *linguistic rights* as distinct from the notion of the *range and quality of facilities* available in any given language to those who can speak it. By the word "facilities" we mean any of a long list of institutions and activities in both the public and the private sectors, including general governmental services, educational institutions, cultural activities, shopping, and medical and dental services, to name only a few important examples. This list could be lengthened, but it will be seen as we proceed that educational and cultural facilities are perhaps the most important areas for closer study.

132. Briefly, our position is that achieving equal partnership in the federal capital requires both the equalization of linguistic rights and the improvement of existing facilities—especially educational and cultural facilities—available in the capital area to the minority-language group.

133. The equalization of linguistic rights in the capital area has already been dealt with in Book I. It may be worth repeating four of the points we recommended there:

a) that the English and French languages should have full equality of status throughout the area; b) that all services should be available at all levels of public administration in the two languages; c) that the use of both English and French should be permitted in the deliberations of all local government bodies, that all by-laws and regulations should be recorded and printed in the two languages, and that all important public documents and all administrative services should be available in both languages; d) that all courts should permit pleading in the two languages, and that lower courts should be equipped to function in both.¹

We shall explore later what this would mean in more concrete terms for the governmental and judicial structures of the area.

134. In a situation where one language is predominant in a sociological sense, equality of linguistic rights considered in isolation could seem rather empty and formalistic. It would be consistent with our notion of equal partnership only if it were matched by other areas where the other official language was similarly dominant. But for the capital this is insufficient. As we have said, we think that the territory

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, I, § 380.*

of the capital should be linguistically balanced in terms of the official languages, an area where neither tongue is disadvantaged, and this not only in legal terms but in practical daily living. We therefore conclude that full equality of linguistic rights is a necessary condition for the capital area, but that it is a beginning only. Something more is needed.

135. The second avenue of development lies in equalizing the range of facilities available in French and in English respectively in the capital area. In one respect we have touched on this point in Book I, when we recommended for the capital "that publicly supported education should be as available in French as in English and should be of the same quality."¹ At that time we singled out education because it was already clear that this was one of the crucial problems of the capital, but the principle that we may take as our general objective is that all facilities and services should be available in French and should be comparable in range and quality with those available in English in the capital area.

136. To make clear our thought on this point, the principle can be restated in another way. Any resident of the capital should have the opportunity to live a full and complete life either in French or in English, without experiencing a sense of loss or deprivation by comparison with opportunities that would have been available had he been living in the other language. This seems to us to be the only practical basis upon which all Canadians can participate fully and equally in the life of the capital.

137. Of course, under such an arrangement, there is no doubt that those who know *both* French and English would find a more varied life open to them than would unilingual citizens of either linguistic group, because activities in French and activities in English, while comparable in their general extent, would doubtless differ in detail. Those who can participate in both will thereby derive a handsome bonus. Nevertheless our first concern, as we said elsewhere,² is not to make individual Canadians bilingual but to recommend the conditions under which French- and English-speaking Canadians may develop their country on the basis of equal partnership. As a basic premise, we think that the capital should offer an interesting and varied life to unilingual persons speaking either French or English.

138. There is one compelling reason for the sort of policy we are recommending. The federal capital is the concern of all Canadians, and not just of its own residents. Practically speaking, it should be thought of as part of an open, mobile society. In the work world,

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, General Introduction, §§ 29-30.

transfers to the capital from other parts of Canada and vice versa will be frequent, and families will have to find an environment in which they can move freely. Children must find compatible educational systems, and so on. If the population of the capital were relatively stable, bilingualism might become the norm, but this would restrict the mobility of population we nowadays associate with a highly developed industrial economy. Therefore we feel that, as a matter of policy, those choosing to live their lives either primarily in French or primarily in English should be able to do so in the capital without inconvenience. The fact that 60 per cent of the population of French origin are bilingual, whereas only 10 per cent of those of British origin are, indicates that this is not the case.

139. Up to this point, we have talked of equal facilities in French and English in the context of the Ottawa area alone. But population mobility introduces another, more practical, consideration. In a situation where the skills needed in modern government are also in heavy demand in other sectors of the work world, the labour market in the capital must attract personnel in competition with other Canadian cities, including large metropolitan centres such as Montreal and Toronto, which may have a considerably wider range of activities to offer their residents. As a consequence, Francophones who are considering the attractiveness of living in the capital will compare facilities available there in French not only with those available in English in the same area, but also with those open to them should they choose to live in Montreal or Quebec City. Similar choices are, of course, open to Anglophones who contemplate living in the capital: they may prefer Toronto or Winnipeg or Vancouver.

Ottawa's competitive position

140. We believe that this factor of alternative career opportunities in other centres, which will always be present, should induce the federal government to give serious attention to the quality of life in the capital area. The capital should reflect, as far as its size and population permit, the best aspects of life in Canada, and to the extent that it does so it will be that much easier to attract the skilled personnel—both Francophones and Anglophones—that modern government requires. It is both practical and sensible for the federal authorities to take an interest in the capital, because in the long run the benefits will accrue to the federal government itself, as the employer of roughly one-third of the local labour force.

141. Our proposals for the capital will involve no diminution of anyone's existing linguistic rights, or of any facilities presently available. The principle that we propose is that a more complete range of services should become available in both French and English. In no sense would

any existing facilities be curtailed. Members of the public would be served in French or English at their own choice. In the present context of the capital, this would mean a considerably expanded range of services to be offered in French in the Ontario sector, but there might also be more modest improvements in the services offered in English in the Quebec sector.

Place of individual
bilingualism

142. It may be objected that to serve the public in both French and English requires bilingualism on the part of the person who provides that service. This is of course true, up to a certain point, and we have explored some of the implications of this point elsewhere.¹ A policeman on point duty, or a tourist guide, or a cashier at a cinema, may well have to be bilingual if he is to perform his job effectively. But where several persons are associated in providing the same service, such as sales personnel in a department store, or municipal clerks in a large department, then clearly not all of them need be individually bilingual in order to provide effective service to the public in both languages. In our judgement, those situations where full fluency in French and English is needed will form a relatively modest proportion of the work world. On the other hand, our research on the capital area has suggested that there may be many bilingual individuals at work in situations where their language skills are seldom if ever used.

Role of the public
sector

143. In this chapter we have developed a general principle as to how equal partnership might be conceived in the federal capital. We have talked of the whole range of facilities used by the public in the complexities of daily life, while recognizing that only a certain number of them lie directly in the public sector. In terms of implementation, the most immediate reforms could undoubtedly be carried out within the public sector. Yet two further observations may be made. First, we should not underestimate the force of example in the public sector as an influence on behaviour in the private sector: it is difficult to imagine that, in a capital where all public services in the broadest sense were fully and freely available in both languages, the private sector would be radically different. Second, selected services in the private sector could be brought within the reach of public policy by a variety of means: linguistic legislation, agreements and contracts between governments and private organizations,² and so on. We shall have occasion to look at specific examples below, such as leasing agreements between the federal government and private lessors or construction contracts involving federal government expenditure.

¹ *Ibid.*, III, §§ 803-8.

² See *ibid.*, I, § 278.

144. Our general principle, in any case, is clear. It is time to restate it in the form of a general recommendation. Accordingly, **we recommend, for the present federal capital and areas to be designated as part thereof, that the French and English languages have full equality of status, and that the full range of services and facilities provided to the public be available in both languages throughout the area.** This is, indeed, more than a recommendation to governments: it is an invitation to the private sector as well. If we have phrased it more positively and more comprehensively than our recommendations for other parts of Canada, it is because we are dealing with a capital, and behind that capital stands the reality of a bilingual Canada.

Recommendation 1

A. Channels for the Expression of Federal Interest

145. The existence of the Ontario-Quebec boundary has profoundly influenced the relations between the two provincial sectors of the capital area, but there is one level of government that has some jurisdiction over both sectors—the federal authority. Our attention accordingly turns to the functioning of the federal government and especially of those specialized agencies and departments that have had the most to do with the development of the capital itself.

146. We have noted earlier that federal activity to date in the capital area could be grouped around four broad areas of concern: the acquisition and maintenance of public buildings, whether as owner or tenant; the planning, development, and embellishment of the capital in keeping with its significance to Canada as a whole; the development of various cultural and museum facilities appropriate to Canada's capital; and an emerging concern with the linguistic image offered by the capital area.¹ To give expression to these concerns, a considerable number of different federal agencies have been active, and it is worth reviewing their record briefly² in order to clarify just how far they have served to integrate the two sectors of the capital, and to equalize the position of the official-language minority, particularly in the Ontario sector.

147. The National Capital Commission is the sole federal agency whose activities are concerned exclusively with the capital area. Its broad purposes are defined as follows: "The objects and purposes of the Commission are to prepare plans for and assist in the development,

The National
Capital
Commission

¹ See §§ 69-72.

² For a more detailed analysis of these agencies, see K. D. McRae, ed., *The Federal Capital: Government Institutions*, Studies of the R.C.B.&B., No. 1 (Ottawa, 1969), Chap. V.

conservation, and improvement of the National Capital Region in order that the nature and character of the seat of the Government of Canada may be in accordance with its national significance."¹ In accordance with these purposes, the NCC is given broad powers to acquire and develop property; to manage other government property on request of other agencies; to construct parks, highways, bridges, and other works; to do research in connection with the planning of the Region; to co-ordinate the development of public lands; to approve the site and plans for all buildings on public lands; and generally to do those things "incidental or conducive to the attainment of its objects and purposes."²

148. A further section of the Act makes it clear that the power to acquire land includes powers of expropriation.³ Lacking any power to control the use of land not owned by the federal government, the NCC has implemented some of the main features of the National Capital Plan, most notably the Greenbelt in the Ontario sector and Gatineau Park in the Quebec sector, by acquiring ownership of the lands concerned. In the process, expropriation has been used extensively.

149. At first glance, the NCC might seem an agency well suited to promote the equal partnership we envisage. Its powers extend on both sides of the Ottawa River and are coextensive with the National Capital Region, comprising an area of roughly 1,800 square miles; it has been able to obtain substantial amounts of money for developing and improving the Region; its policy of bilingual signs on federal driveways and parks contrasts visibly with the practice of most of the Ontario sector in particular.

Drawbacks in
fostering equal
partnership

150. Nevertheless, we think that in its work to date the NCC has not been particularly successful in meeting the major requirements of equal partnership and that several reasons help to explain its lack of success. In the first place, while the NCC's statutory mandate to work so that the "nature and character of the seat of the Government of Canada may be in accordance with its national significance" might well include some notion of the linguistic and cultural complexion of the capital, the specific powers given to it are clearly and overwhelmingly oriented towards physical development. It is scarcely surprising that, under both the 1958 and earlier legislation, cultural and linguistic factors have in fact been a rather incidental concern.

151. Secondly, despite its considerable achievements in the physical improvement of the capital, the NCC has not had strong support from the public. Its reliance on purchase and expropriation as the only available means of controlling land use have cost heavily in public

¹ National Capital Act, S.C. 1958, 7 Eliz. II, c.37, s.10(1).

² *Ibid.*, s.10(2).

³ *Ibid.*, s.13.

sympathy. The fact that commissioners are appointed by the federal government has deprived it of an independent political base and has made it difficult for the NCC to deal with elected officials of area municipalities on terms approaching equality. In neither sector of the capital does the NCC appear to have a reputation of being responsive to public opinion.

152. In the Quebec sector, this feeling is heightened. In the first place, the expropriation of land by a federal agency in Quebec territory has been a sensitive issue since the late 1940's. Secondly, the NCC's critics question both the division of development funds between the two sectors and the specific ends to which funds are devoted on the Quebec side. As one area political representative emphasized to us in an interview, the NCC is "useful for Ottawa, Hull gets only the crumbs." Further, its concern with parklands and recreational space around the borders of Hull is sometimes seen as stifling the city's prime need for industrial expansion and more employment opportunities. Finally, it seems to have a reputation among local Francophones of being predominantly an Anglophone organization.

153. Whatever the merits of the argument, it is clear that the NCC does not enjoy the full confidence of residents of the Quebec sector. Nor does it have the requisite powers for developing the social and economic environment of the capital. As presently constituted, it, by itself, is not an ideal agency for furthering equal partnership. In order to do this it might very well require major modifications in its structure, in its basic policy towards the Quebec sector, and a clearer mandate to deal with linguistic and cultural matters.

154. The department of Public Works is a second agency that plays an important and active role in the development of the capital. Its greatest impact arises from its responsibility for the provision of the buildings needed to accommodate federal government activities. This department is responsible, in consultation with the NCC and the agency to be housed, for developing the plans, choosing the site, and financing construction of practically all buildings owned by the federal government. When construction is completed, the department also remains responsible for maintenance and repairs. It is similarly charged with arranging leased space in privately owned buildings as required.

Department of
Public Works

155. In the capital area, with its preponderance of federal administration as the largest economic activity, the pattern of federal buildings has an enormous influence on the development of municipalities and municipal services. The circulation of traffic, transit systems, water, sewage, and power services, and even the growth of new housing developments are all directly affected by the process of federal expansion.

sion. As a particular case, the postwar decision of the federal government to decentralize its buildings into several clusters near the periphery of the urbanized area at that time has had major consequences for road networks, transit patterns, and other municipal functions.

156. More generally, the department is concerned with marine and harbour projects, roads, bridges, and other engineering works throughout Canada. In the capital area the department has administered the federal contribution to a number of projects financed in collaboration with provincial or municipal governments, or both. Recent examples are the Queensway, the MacDonald-Cartier bridge, and the Heron Road bridge, all of which have considerably changed the traffic situation in the capital area.

Shortcomings of
linguistic policy

157. However, the department of Public Works has not given a strong lead, either towards linguistic equality in the Ontario sector or to a better balance of activity as between the Ontario and Quebec sectors. With respect to linguistic equality, the department is responsible for signs on federal buildings, and for providing elevator operators within them. Our research found no special policy on signs for the capital area, and a policy of supplying bilingual elevator operators only when the agency concerned specifically requested them.¹ Its role here has been largely passive.

Location of federal
buildings

158. A more serious question is the location of federal buildings. In this area, our study revealed a serious imbalance between the Ontario and Quebec sectors of the capital, and this imbalance appears to have increased during recent years. As may be seen from Table 2, the total amount of space available to the federal government in the capital has increased substantially in the four-year period 1964-8, and in particular the amount of leased space has multiplied some 2.5 times. The proportion of this space in Hull, however, has diminished from 11 per cent in May 1964 to 9 per cent in March 1967 to 6 per cent in August 1968. For leased space, the proportion in Hull fell from 5 per cent in May 1964 to 3 per cent in August 1968. It must also be noted that 85 per cent of the leased space in Hull is presently classified as warehouse and storage space only, a use that provides few employment opportunities and low tax assessment.

159. The location of federal buildings in the capital is, in our view, an important key to the development of equal partnership, particularly as it relates to the relatively underdeveloped state of the Quebec sector. While we have noted a number of ministerial statements concerning plans for a more rapid development of the Quebec sector, against these must be set cold statistical evidence of recent expansion of

¹ See McRae, ed., *The Federal Capital*, 133, 135.

federally owned and leased space, which indicates that the imbalance between the Quebec and Ontario sectors has become not less, but greater. Thus, even with the recently announced major development plans of the federal government,¹ correcting the relative disparity will require sustained action.

Table 2. Location of Federal Buildings

Amount of floor space owned and leased by the federal government—Ottawa, Eastview (now Vanier), and Hull, 1964 and 1968 ('000's of square feet)

Municipality	Federally owned		Federally leased		Total	
	May	August	May	August	May	August
	1964	1968	1964	1968	1964	1968
Ottawa	7,836	10,655	1,738	4,797	9,574	15,452
Eastview	0	79	79	56	79	135
Hull	1,075	801	94	152	1,169	954
Total	8,911	11,535	1,911	5,005	10,822	16,541

Source: Department of Public Works.

160. The position of the federal government as landowner and proprietor of a large array of public buildings in the capital area has gradually led it to assume a further role of taxpayer to the municipalities of the area. The major proportion of federal payments to municipalities, that relating to departmental buildings, is paid by the Municipal Grants division of the department of Finance as a grant in lieu of taxes.² This grant is determined according to principles defined in the federal Municipal Grants Act,³ but some federal agencies pay on their own behalf a similar grant to municipalities, and certain Crown corporations pay ordinary municipal taxes instead of grants in lieu of tax. The amounts involved are substantial. For the capital area in 1967, grants paid by the Municipal Grants division in respect of departmental property amounted to almost \$10 million, and the total of grants and taxes paid on behalf of all federal property was just under \$12 million.⁴

The federal government as "taxpayer"

161. Generally speaking, the Municipal Grants Act places all municipalities in Canada on a uniform basis. Any municipality containing

¹ Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, May 29, 1969, 1st session, 9203.
² See McRae, ed., *The Federal Capital*, 128-9.
³ Municipal Grants Act, S.C. 1951, 15 Geo. VI, c.54.
⁴ Figures supplied by the Federal-Provincial Relations division, department of Finance.

federal property may apply for a grant, which is calculated by applying the current effective tax rate of the municipality to the assessed value as determined by the department of Finance in consultation with municipal assessors. In Quebec, grants are sometimes paid directly to school boards. Certain classes of property are specifically exempted in calculating the grant—for example, parks, monuments, museums, libraries, and art galleries—but these would in most places be exempt from tax even if not federally owned. Grants paid directly by Crown corporations and other federal agencies are calculated on similar principles.

162. In brief, the federal government and its agencies, acting as taxpayers, have tried to accommodate themselves to existing municipal tax systems. While certain safeguards, controls, and ministerial discretion remain in the legislation, the principle has been to place federal property as much as possible on the same basis as taxable property. This principle applies in the capital area as elsewhere, with the one significant exception that the grant in respect to the Parliament Buildings is based on the cost of municipal services supplied rather than on their assessed value of \$22 million.

163. The heavy concentration of federal property in the capital, which results in annual federal payments to the city of Ottawa several times larger than those to any other municipality in Canada, has not led to any special arrangements for the capital area. It is perhaps worth remembering that, prior to 1951, the city of Ottawa received special payments under the Ottawa Agreement Act of 1944.¹ While these payments were relatively modest, they recognized the principle of a special relation between the federal and municipal authorities in the capital. With the passage of the first Municipal Grants Act in 1951, the capital was placed on the same footing as all other municipalities throughout Canada.

Imbalance between
Quebec and
Ontario sectors

164. While there are some obvious advantages in having a well-defined formula for the administration of federal grants to municipalities, the present system has beyond doubt aggravated the unbalanced development between the Quebec and Ontario sectors. The municipal grants system deals with each municipality (or school authority) in isolation, without reference to its neighbours. One consequence of this is that, for the National Capital Region in 1967, federal payments in the Ontario sector accounted for 95 per cent of total grants and taxes of \$12 million, while the Quebec sector, with few federal buildings, extensive federal parklands, and 25 per cent of the population received only 5 per cent of grants. The city of Ottawa alone, with 52 per cent

¹ Ottawa Agreement Act, S.C. 1943-4, 7 Geo. VI, c.10.

of the National Capital Region's population, received 89 per cent of the total. We estimate that assessment on federal property and federally leased property eligible for grants in the city of Ottawa constitutes approximately 40 per cent of total commercial-industrial-federal assessment.¹ Since federal government is the major "industry" of the area, these payments have made possible a standard of services in the city of Ottawa that less-favoured municipalities in the area simply cannot match.

165. Furthermore, just as the imbalance of federal buildings has increased in recent years, so has the Quebec sector lost ground in terms of municipal grants and taxes. A private study carried out by the Hull Chamber of Commerce found that, for the decade 1954-64, the city of Hull received as payments under the Municipal Grants Act a total of 8 per cent of the amount paid to the city of Ottawa;² we have found that for 1966 and 1967 the corresponding proportion was 5 per cent.

166. Nor has the present system of grants contributed in any way to linguistic equality within municipalities. Since the object of the Act is to make the federal government as close to an ordinary taxpayer as possible, grants under the Municipal Grants Act are unconditional. Yet, historically, taxation has generally gone hand in hand with representation. One curious feature of the grant system is that, in the city of Ottawa at least, the largest single "taxpayer" has had no formal voice in the city administration to which it contributes so heavily, even on issues of the most direct federal interest.

Lack of federal representation

167. We have previously mentioned a further role of the federal government as a substantial contributor to the cultural life of the region. Four major cultural agencies have their principal physical location and focus of public contact in the capital:³ the National Gallery, the National Library, the National Museums, and the National Arts Centre.

Location of federal cultural agencies

168. Since the first three of these will be examined in a later Book of our *Report* from the standpoint of their language use and their contribution to equal partnership, it is unnecessary to go into these points here. On the point of their physical location within the capital area, however, it should be noted that all four are wholly located in the Ontario sector. The National Gallery, the National Arts Centre, and the National Library—the latter sharing a building with the Public

¹ This figure does not include those federal agencies, such as the NCC, CNR, and Air Canada, that pay grants directly to the city.

² "Mémoire sur la nécessité d'un regain industriel à Hull," brief presented to the city council of Hull by the Hull Chamber of Commerce, December 10, 1964, Appendix D, 41.

³ The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has its headquarters in the capital but a public contact that is more diffused throughout the country.

Archives—are all in downtown Ottawa in close proximity to Parliament Hill. The primary display facilities of the National Museum of Man and the Museum of National Sciences are in the rather imposing old Victoria Memorial Museum, which housed the federal Parliament itself for several years after the fire of 1916, about a mile to the south. Other exhibit sections of the Museum lie further afield, particularly the Museum of Science and Technology on St. Laurent Boulevard and the National Aeronautical Collection at Rockcliffe Airport; each of these is about four miles from Parliament Hill. The point is simply that the location in the Ontario sector of all these cultural and museum facilities, which are major points of interest for tourists and residents alike, has served to reinforce the widespread image of the capital as an Ontario city rather than a metropolis spanning the Ottawa River.

Other federal
agencies

169. This analysis of federal interest in the capital could be extended considerably by analyzing other federal agencies. To do so would reveal further examples of the failure of federal policy to take account either of the imbalance between the Quebec and Ontario sectors or of the implications of equal partnership within each one. Perhaps one example of each will illustrate the two themes.

Transport facilities

170. The first concerns transport facilities. The development of Uplands Airport as the major air terminal for the region and the relocation of the Union Station have exerted a major influence on the pattern of development of the capital area. Both these termini are located along the southerly edge of the urban area, the airport about 7 miles south, and the railway station about 3 miles to the southeast, of Parliament Hill. Both locations place the Quebec sector at a disadvantage in relation to the Ontario part of the urban area, and, in the case of the rail terminus, the disadvantage is the more obvious by comparison with the relatively central location of the former Union Station.

RCMP

171. Secondly, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police affords an example of failure in relation to linguistic equality. Far from having bilingual personnel policing federal driveways and property in the Ontario sector, the force has even had to admit the accuracy of complaints that constables patrolling parkways in the Quebec sector spoke English only, a situation that arose from an acute shortage of bilingual personnel.

Summary

172. In summary, federal policies—or, in some situations, the lack of a federal policy—concerning the development of the capital area have played an inescapable part in the development of different conditions of life for Francophones and Anglophones in the capital area. There is a striking imbalance between the Quebec and Ontario sectors. This has been intensified by siting the overwhelming majority of federal

government buildings on the Ontario side, including all major cultural and museum facilities, as well as transportation terminals. It has been intensified by the distribution of federal grants to municipalities, which has given the Ontario sector an overwhelming—and apparently still increasing—proportion of federal payments. There is a similar imbalance in development expenditures by the NCC, though here it has more often been the purpose rather than the amount of the expenditure that has been felt inappropriate by residents of the Quebec sector.

173. The achievement of conditions of equal partnership within each sector is perhaps less obviously a federal responsibility. Yet we have noted that the federal government, the largest “taxpayer” in the area, has made no public representations to municipalities respecting language use, even in the city of Ottawa where it contributes at least 40 per cent of the tax revenue from commercial-industrial-federal property. The department of Public Works, as responsible for federal buildings, has had a relatively passive policy on language use even in matters fully under federal control.

174. In brief, the relevant federal agencies have paid insufficient attention to the requirements of equal partnership in the capital. They have only begun to develop policies that will assert the federal role in the face of the very strong influence of the provincial and municipal institutional framework on the patterns of language use. We think it is essential that federal policy continue to develop on this question.

B. A More Positive Federal Policy

175. The case for a more effective federal policy regarding equal partnership in the specific context of the capital does not follow automatically from the present weakness of federal interest. We think there are several reasons why the federal government should continue to take initiatives in developing a capital area in which the present anomalies and discrepancies would eventually disappear.

176. In the first place, there is a certain logic in the idea that the federal level of government should be actively concerned with the conditions of life in the capital. The linguistic and cultural complexion of the capital should reflect the aims and concerns of the entire country. On the other hand, provincial and municipal governments operating in the capital area are guided by different interests, different priorities, different perspectives. It seems clear that the federal government is best situated to view the capital in the context of Canada as a whole, and that in future developments it should act to ensure that this perspective is properly recognized.

Breadth of
viewpoint

177. One may draw a parallel here between the physical development of the capital and its cultural and social development. The former is entrusted to a federal agency whose stated purpose is to see that the nature and character of the seat of government are in accordance with its "national significance." Just as logically, the linguistic and cultural character of the capital are obviously a matter for federal concern, though the most appropriate channels of implementation may be different.

Jurisdiction

178. A second reason for a more effective federal policy is that the federal government is the only one of the existing levels of government—federal, provincial, regional, and municipal—with legal jurisdiction over the entire capital area, whether that area be defined as the National Capital Region or the Ottawa metropolitan census area. While development in both the Quebec and the Ontario sectors may well remain a responsibility of provincial authorities, as long as federal activity remains a major "industry" of the area the federal government will have responsibility for ensuring more equitable growth throughout the capital area.

179. Some persons might expect that accelerated industrial development or direct provincial action alone might make up for federal deficiencies in the Quebec sector. Our own view is that present superior standards of governmental services in the Ontario sector—an advantage made possible in large part by the far larger federal presence there—will offer strong inducements to the private sector to locate in the Ontario sector. Further, certain government-related enterprises in the private sector, such as private research laboratories and offices of national associations, find advantages in being located close to relevant federal establishments. Thus, even with increased developmental activity by the province of Quebec, the federal level will have an important part to play.

Need for
change in
symbolism

180. A third reason for a more active federal role in the capital is to change the symbolism presently associated with the capital. In the minds of many Canadians throughout the country, the capital as symbolized by the city of Ottawa has acquired in recent years a certain minor notoriety as a city where, for example, citizens must deal with City Hall in English, where they must speak English in the courts, where schooling in French is inferior in quality to schooling in English, where even bilingual traffic signs have encountered strong opposition in City Council.

181. We consider this symbolism is somewhat misplaced, in that it does not take sufficient account of the provincial framework. We found that in these matters Ottawa resembled all other municipalities

of the Ontario sector, except for Vanier. Moreover, we are aware that significant changes in attitudes and practice are well under way. Yet the symbolism undoubtedly exists, and it attaches closely to the city of Ottawa, as the historical and legal capital. We should like to see that symbolism changed and made more consonant with the value of a federal system based on the concept of equal partnership as developed in the various Books of our *Report*.

182. Finally, a more positive federal policy in the capital would constitute a concrete, working example of the federal government's concern for equal partnership in the wider Canadian context. It would demonstrate to the whole country to what extent one community of Francophones and Anglophones could live together on the basis of fully equal rights and facilities. As such it could constitute a guide and perhaps an inspiration for the bilingual districts we have proposed for other parts of Canada, where demographic and social conditions may be less favourable to the achievement of such equality.

Power of example

183. In proposing an expanded role for the federal government in ensuring facilities in French and English throughout the capital area, we are conscious of making a deliberate choice. There is an alternative. The capital area, apportioned as it is between the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, could be considered as two territorial sectors, each with its majority- and minority-language group, each offering a full range of cultural and other facilities that reflect the values and aspirations of the majority in that province. In a word, there would be a twin capital, the nuclei of which would be the cities of Ottawa and Hull, with their development on a comparable basis depending mainly on the provincial orientations. In this view, facilities in the capital area would exist for Francophones primarily in the Quebec sector and for Anglophones primarily in the Ontario sector. The role of the federal government would be circumscribed. Such a principle might have certain points in its favour, but, as stated in Chapter III, we prefer the principle that equal rights and facilities be made available throughout the region for three main reasons.

Alternative of
twin capital
unacceptable

184. First, it is more appropriate to the present population patterns. Roughly half the French-speaking population and more than three-fifths of the Francophone public servants now live on the Ontario side of the Ottawa River. As we observed in Book I, nowhere else in Canada is there a comparable concentration of Francophones who have so few language rights. Barring a major change in residential patterns, a twin federal capital would not achieve the results we seek for approximately half the Francophone community in the capital area.

185. The second reason is that a capital should serve as a meeting place where persons of different languages and from different parts of Canada may, in a very general sense, live and work together. If the long-run result of a twin capital were to be two linguistically separate residential sectors—one Francophone, the other Anglophone—separated by the Ottawa River, some of the most obvious advantages of having a federal capital would be lost.

186. The third reason is purely symbolic. Just like other institutions of the federal government, the capital should stand for those things all Canadians have in common. A twin capital would tend to minimize those common values.

Residential
distribution

187. In advocating a principle of equal linguistic rights and equal facilities throughout the capital area, we are not advocating a positive policy to change the residential distribution of Francophones and Anglophones. Indeed, there are varying degrees of linguistic concentration in many residential areas of the capital today, and increased numbers of Francophones in the middle and upper levels of the federal Public Service might well tend to increase linguistic concentration in some of the suburban areas.

188. Our position is simple. We feel that public policy should not be an instrument promoting linguistic concentration by simply leaving some areas inferior to others in the rights and facilities that they offer to either Francophones or Anglophones. Instead we suggest a policy that maximizes effective freedom of choice of where one lives. In the capital, it becomes particularly important that any resident should be able to live in any particular residential area he chooses without encountering linguistic inconveniences. The policy we propose of equal rights and facilities throughout the area is designed to that end.

Need for federal
participation

189. Achieving this goal requires the explicit and active participation of the federal government in shaping developments in the capital region. We shall have occasion to discuss below some of the more direct implications in terms of bridges between the Quebec and Ontario sectors, the roads network, transport facilities, and the location of federal government buildings. But most important is the concept of a greater role for the federal government in the future of the region.

Place of provincial
and local interests

190. Before concluding this chapter, we must add a word of qualification, lest we be misunderstood. We have examined the federal interest in the capital and found that it has been regrettably weak and uncoordinated from the standpoint of our terms of reference. On the other hand, we have been made aware of strong provincial and local interests in both sectors of the capital. It is not our wish that these interests, and the institutions that express them, should disappear. We have called

for a strengthening of the federal interest, but what we envisage is the redressing of a balance, a search for the appropriate weighting of local, provincial, and federal considerations. A capital belongs in some senses to the country as a whole, but local residents have legitimate interests that concern only themselves, and these must have suitable channels of expression. This is a problem for capital cities generally, but it is felt more acutely in federal states.

191. In short, our position is that the capital area should continue to evolve a vigorous and efficient system of provincial and local government but, on the broad issue of equal partnership between Francophones and Anglophones, we should place the interests and perspectives of Canada as a whole on a par with local considerations. We may note that many other issues, such as zoning and height regulations in downtown Ottawa, pollution control of the Ottawa River, and problems of urban planning and development generally, also involve difficulties in drawing a proper boundary between federal and provincial or local interests and responsibilities. But we need not discuss topics of this kind here except to the extent that they affect our own theme.

Recommendation 2

192. Our real concern remains the question of equal partnership between Francophones and Anglophones, and how it may be achieved in the capital. In our view, the need for a greater federal initiative is clear. Therefore, **we recommend that the federal government assume a direct, positive role in promoting equal partnership in all its aspects between Francophones and Anglophones in the present federal capital and in areas to be designated as part thereof.** We shall discuss in the next chapter how we believe this should be done.

A. Introduction

193. Appropriate developments in the capital area depend on a delicate balancing of the principle of equal partnership with present conditions in the capital area and what can be done immediately to initiate changes in the direction of equality.

194. Essentially, our proposals are based on the following: for the capital area, a régime of complete linguistic equality and a full range of services and facilities available in French and in English; the implementation of changes proposed elsewhere in our *Report*, together with specific reforms to be proposed in this chapter to bring about linguistic equality; the formation of a Tripartite Agency to assume responsibility for advising the governments involved on the planning and co-ordination of future development in the region.

195. In principle, the concept of equal partnership applies not only to public authorities but to the private sector as well. Our general recommendation concerning this concept is worth repeating here: "that in the present federal capital and in areas to be designated as part thereof, the French and English languages have full equality of status, and that the full range of services and facilities provided to the public be available in both languages throughout the area."¹ This recommendation, while specifically directed at all levels of public administration, is also an invitation to the private sector to create in the capital a linguistic environment more conducive to equal partnership than has been the case in the past.

¹See § 144.

196. Much more than formal linguistic rights is involved. Indeed, the practical problems of achieving equal partnership in the capital focus upon two major issues: removal of certain basic inequities between the Quebec and Ontario sectors; and achievement in each sector, but particularly in the Ontario sector, of equal rights and facilities by the official-language minority.

Need for change
in attitudes and
institutions

197. In calling for a régime of complete equality in the capital area, we are fully conscious of the magnitude of the change proposed. It will require co-operation and understanding among the authorities concerned and understanding among the public involved.

198. Also, while certain far-reaching changes in attitudes will be required, the possibility of basic institutional reforms must also be considered. We are convinced that present attitudes concerning the capital are closely associated with present institutional arrangements and that therefore it is essential to consider altering the institutional framework rather than trying to change patterns of thought while institutions remain the same.

199. Over the long term, the changes that will occur are large and difficult ones; they cannot be accomplished all at once. There must be a process of interaction, in which institutional reforms will tend to produce more open attitudes, and these in turn will pave the way for establishing a régime of full equality.

First steps

200. Many steps can be taken immediately. We expect that certain reforms recommended in other Books of this *Report*, particularly changes in the federal Public Service and in educational systems, will be implemented. Many of these are already under way. As well, in this Book we suggest several quite specific reforms for the capital area itself, reforms that aim at reducing some of the elements of imbalance revealed in the course of our research. Taken as a whole, such reforms can go some distance towards establishing full equality of facilities and services in the capital area. From this standpoint they are justified in themselves. In addition, they could pave the way for a more elaborate reform of institutions which could perhaps ultimately integrate the two sectors into a new jurisdiction founded on full equality.

A Capital
Territory

201. An alternative to the establishment of the Tripartite Agency we recommend could be the creation of a new Capital Territory, an idea that was proposed in our public hearings, and that has been much discussed recently. Indeed it has a long history in Canada, dating back to 1872 at least.¹ In reviewing recent public attitudes, we have found evidence of a substantial body of opinion in favour of a new jurisdiction

¹See D. C. Rowat, "The Proposal for a Federal Capital Territory for Canada's Capital," in Ontario Advisory Committee on Confederation, *Background Papers and Reports* (Toronto, 1967), 215-82.

or "federal district" despite the fact that no specific proposal has yet been officially put forward at any level of government. In Appendix II we look briefly at this evidence. While it is not conclusive, it does suggest that there exists even now sufficient interest in the question for the idea of a Capital Territory to be given serious study. In the longer perspective it is one possible means for the full realization of the developments we feel necessary. However, it could not be accomplished overnight, and at present serious objections exist to its ever being realized.

202. Hence, for the immediate future we shall propose other measures. Specifically, we think that steps should be taken at once to establish a continuing formal Tripartite Agency that would be given by the three governments directly involved (federal, Ontario, and Quebec) broad advisory responsibility for the planning and co-ordination of immediate developments in the area. This body should also provide one of the vehicles through which elaboration and discussion of longer-range developments in the capital region can be carried on. A later section of this chapter discusses this Agency in more detail.¹

A Tripartite
Agency

B. A Programme for the Capital Area

1. Government services

a) The federal image in the capital

203. There can be little doubt that in recent years the federal government has been gradually moving towards provision of services in both official languages. In a general sense, this has already become federal policy for the capital area. Yet our research on the capital area brought to light considerable gaps between this policy objective and prevailing practice.

204. Our basic recommendation for the capital area was, in part, "a) that the English and French languages should have full equality of status throughout the area; b) that all services should be available at all levels of public administration in the two languages. . . ."² For the federal government this means that all situations of public contact—whether post offices, the local income tax offices, employment centres, transportation terminals, or other similar agencies—should be staffed in such a way that Francophones and Anglophones alike may obtain service at all times. In practice, Anglophones are at present likely to

Provision of
services

¹See §§ 300-16.

²Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, I, § 380.

have few problems. For example, of some 2,725 public servants in 19 selected agencies operating in situations of frequent public contact in the capital in 1965, over 99 per cent could perform their duties in English. However, only 32 per cent could do so in French.¹ Clearly, improvement in the provision of French-language services will be required.

205. From a policy standpoint, these situations would seem to be already covered with respect to the capital by section 4 of the Public Service Employment Regulations² and by the Official Languages Act. The latter, for example, is quite explicit in stating that:

Every department and agency of the Government of Canada and every judicial, quasi-judicial or administrative body or Crown corporation established by or pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada has the duty to ensure that within the National Capital Region, at the place of its head or central office in Canada if outside the National Capital Region, and at each of its principal offices in a federal bilingual district established under this Act, members of the public can obtain available services from and can communicate with it in both official languages.³

Signs

206. Policy in other aspects of the federal presence has been less fully developed. For example, in the somewhat formal and symbolic question of external and internal signs on federal buildings, a considerable number of federal buildings in the capital area still display signs in English only. The Canada-wide policy of the department of Public Works, which manages and maintains practically all federal buildings in the capital area and elsewhere, has been to affix bilingual signs on new or renovated buildings, but not on existing buildings, except at the request of the agency occupying the building.

Recommendation 3

207. To our mind, this rate of change is not rapid enough for the capital area, if only because of the symbolic importance of the question. A more positive policy is needed. Accordingly, **we recommend that all external and internal signs on all buildings under the control of the department of Public Works in the capital area be made bilingual within two years.** This recommendation also applies to buildings not administered by the department of Public Works but occupied and controlled by Crown corporations and other federal agencies.

Elevator operators and commissionaires

208. We found no general linguistic policy with respect to either elevator operators or commissionaires, except that bilingual personnel were being supplied to the few agencies that have specifically requested them. All elevator operators, and also commissionaires having any significant degree of contact with the public or with public servants,

¹See K. D. McRae, ed., *The Federal Capital: Government Institutions*, Studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, No. 1 (Ottawa, 1969), 134.

²See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, III, §§ 352-3.

³Official Languages Act, S.C. 1969, 17-18 Eliz. II, c.54, s.9(1).

should be able to function in both French and English in these contacts. The degree of linguistic ability needed for these purposes is probably not excessive. At the same time, to implement such a policy too rapidly would cause individual injustices. But within five years, all elevator operators in federally owned buildings and all commissionaires having significant contact with the public or with public servants, should be able to perform their normal duties in both French and English, and all new appointees to such posts should henceforth meet the same requirements.

209. One question concerning telephone facilities—government listings in the standard telephone directory—may be mentioned as an illustration of the need for the federal government to examine its own image down to the smallest details. The principal Government of Canada entry appeared in both languages for the first time in the 1968 edition of the Ottawa-Hull directory. However, the French version follows the English instead of occurring in normal alphabetical sequence. In addition, the yellow-page entry appears in English only. Such matters, which can cause inconvenience and irritation far beyond the cost of the appropriate adjustments, should be corrected and in future prevented.

Telephone facilities

210. Telephone operators for the federal government are supplied by the Bell Telephone Company. In 1965, 45 per cent of government operators in the Ottawa-Hull area were bilingual. Since there are well-defined procedures for transferring calls from one operator to another in the event of linguistic difficulties, no specific recommendation on this point seems necessary.

211. A problem of a different type arises with respect to buildings leased rather than owned by the federal government. From the early years of this century, the federal government has depended on privately owned buildings for a part of its space requirements in the capital, and in the last few years the proportion of federal space that is leased rather than owned directly has risen rapidly from 17 per cent of the total in May 1965 to 30 per cent in August 1968. In these leased premises the federal government has lacked direct control over the linguistic environment, and this seems somewhat anomalous in buildings where the federal government is the principal or sole tenant.

Leased buildings

212. The adoption of a policy that we mentioned briefly in Book I of our *Report*¹ would be effective here. This is the addition of an appropriate clause on language use in contracts and agreements for the lease of space to federal agencies. Accordingly, **we recommend that all rental contracts for federally leased buildings or parts of buildings in**

Recommendation 4

¹See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 278.

the capital area have a clause containing appropriate provisions for language use on the part of the lessor and his employees or agents, including bilingual internal and external signs on the building itself and provision of services in French and English by elevator operators, commissionaires, and other personnel in contact with the public or with public servants. Such a provision could be instituted at once with respect to all new rental contracts. Those in existence now might be modified in the same sense with the agreement of the owners.

Grants for public
works

213. There is another way in which the federal government could use the same strategy to extend equality of the French and English languages in the capital. Both the federal government and the National Capital Commission have frequently given grants-in-aid for various public works in the area such as filtration plants, trunk sewers, highways, and bridges. Sometimes these grants have been made subject to certain conditions. For example, the Ottawa Civic Centre was aided by the federal government on condition that federal priorities on the overall timing of construction projects were observed.

Recommendation 5

214. The federal government might in appropriate cases attach linguistic conditions to special grants made in the capital area. Clearly, many of these works projects might have no linguistic significance at all, but in the case of a bridge, a highway, or a municipal centre, it would be only fitting for the federal government to ask that linguistic equality be observed on the completed project—and perhaps even during the construction phase. Had this policy been in effect in the past, for example, the controversy over unilingual signs on the Ontario approaches to the new Macdonald-Cartier interprovincial bridge in 1965 could have been avoided. Accordingly, **we recommend that federal grants-in-aid (including National Capital Commission grants) to municipal or provincial public works projects in the capital area be given subject to an undertaking that appropriate recognition of the two official languages be observed on the project when completed.**

Priority for
institutions of high
public visibility

215. Certain federal institutions stand apart because of their greater public visibility. Among them are the Parliament Buildings, the National Gallery, the National Museums, the National Library and Public Archives, and the National Arts Centre. To these buildings one may add the RCMP patrols on Parliament Hill and on federal parkways. These institutions together constitute in some sense a Canadian showcase, and for this reason their priorities for achieving linguistic equality should be somewhat higher. Indeed, some of them have already made very considerable progress towards linguistic equality. Accordingly, we suggest that for federal institutions in the capital area that have frequent or widespread contact with the public because of the services they provide, a programme for moving towards linguistic equality should

include the following time schedules: a) for all external and internal signs, one year; b) for elevator operators, commissionaires, and security guards, one year; c) for RCMP patrols on Parliament Hill and federal parkways, two years.

216. What remains to be discussed is the more intangible question of the conditions under which services in French and English are offered to the public by the federal authorities. Services in French have frequently been available in federal institutions in the capital, but only at the specific request of those seeking them. Moreover, they are not always available, and a Francophone using his mother tongue with a stranger in the capital area always risks a failure to communicate, a possible embarrassment, even a rebuff. To remedy this situation, we **recommend that, in all activities of federal agencies in the capital area, services in French be freely and publicly offered on the same basis as services in English, and not merely be made available exceptionally or on request.**

Recommendation 6

217. The matters raised in this section may seem to some rather peripheral to the larger issues of the work world discussed in Book III, but they are nevertheless important. The federal government could achieve much in the capital area by adopting a comprehensive, well-planned linguistic policy for activities within its present jurisdiction. It could do more by extending such a policy through its contractual relations with other governments and with the private sector. Most of all, it is in a position to set a firm, consistent example of linguistic equality in the capital.

b) Provincial administration

218. Book I of the *Report* suggested that, as a minimum, our proposals for bilingual districts should be applied in both sectors of the federal capital area.¹ Specifically, as a stage towards the implementation of an appropriate language régime for the capital, we **recommend that Ontario and Quebec accept in principle that all provincial services provided in their respective sectors of the federal capital and all services provided by the provincial capitals to residents in the federal capital area be available in French or English at the option of the individual citizen, and that this linguistic provision become a right guaranteed by provincial statute.** Several provincial government departments in Ontario are currently providing services in languages other than French or English. In making this recommendation it is not our intention that these additional services should be in any way interfered with or diminished.

Recommendation 7

¹*Ibid.*, §§ 371-80.

219. For the province of Ontario, implementation of this recommendation will involve considerable change. Some departments will have to continue improving the linguistic capacity of their personnel. Letters from Francophone citizens or associations, which hitherto have been answered in English, will be answered in French—a point that is already the announced policy of the Ontario government.¹ Initial approaches to residents of the federal capital area might be made on bilingual forms. The range of printed documents available in French will have to be increased considerably, and so on.

220. More important than any specific change, however, is the need for a change in attitudes towards the provision of services in French. All too often Ontario departments have offered services to the public in French only when it was considered necessary to establish communication; if the citizen spoke sufficient English, the burden of using an unfamiliar language was placed upon him rather than upon the official. This is why our recommendation states explicitly that the choice of language should be at the option of the citizen.

221. For the Quebec sector, the changes required of the provincial administration are more modest. In 1965, all 12 of the Quebec departments having offices in the federal capital area offered service in English as well as in French, though one department reported a policy of using French except where communication in that language was impossible. Roughly 90 per cent of local staff were able to work in either French or English. Replies to correspondence were written in the language of the original request. A few departments reported gaps in printed documentation available in English.

222. Both provinces appeared to lack any general linguistic policy for the federal capital area. Linguistic provisions seems to be left largely to the discretion of local officials in each department. While it was possible to discern general provincial norms—which were more generous in Quebec than in Ontario—there were substantial variations in both sectors from one department to another. Provincial linguistic policy in the capital area should be made uniform and clearly understood through its embodiment in legislation. Besides, the linguistic minorities in both sectors of the federal capital would feel more secure if the equality of French and English in the area rested on law.

223. As emphasized already, each sector of the federal capital area today shows strongly the imprint of the province in which it is situated. A statutory recognition of the equal status of French and English in these two sectors by each of the provinces concerned would con-

¹Premier Robarts, Statement to the Constitutional Conference of Prime Ministers and Premiers, Constitutional Conference, *Proceedings* (Ottawa, 1968), 35.

stitute a most important step towards the achievement of a federal capital that would adequately reflect the values and ideals of a bilingual federal state.

c) *Municipal and regional government*

224. Much of what we have said about provincial government can be applied to the various categories of local government in the capital area. Since municipal institutions are created by the provinces and subject to their overriding control at many points, it is hardly surprising to find a substantial degree of parallelism between the local and provincial levels. There is, however, one significant difference: while the provincial jurisdictions of both Ontario and Quebec lie predominantly outside the federal capital area, the local jurisdictions with which we are concerned in this section lie wholly, or at least primarily, within that area. Thus, for municipalities closely bound up with the capital and what it symbolizes, the potential for the full realization of linguistic equality may be somewhat greater than for their respective provinces as a whole.

Municipal
government

225. Of prime importance is linguistic equality in municipal services. When a citizen in the federal capital area telephones his civic administration, either in French or in English, he should be connected at once with an appropriate official who can explain the problem in all its intricacies in the citizen's own language. The same applies in face-to-face interviews, and correspondence from the public should be answered in the language of the original request. Documents and notices for the use of the public—including promotional material, maps for visitors, and even documents originating with provincial authorities for use by municipalities—should be available in either language or in bilingual form. Most important, however, a citizen should be able to expect such services as a matter of course from every department of the civic administration.

Need for linguistic
equality in
municipal services

226. In the course of our research, the linguistic practices of the 13 municipal administrations of the Ottawa metropolitan area were examined.¹ Every one of the eight municipalities in the Quebec sector—including some with very small municipal staffs—had managed to provide a wide range of services to its population in both French and English. Many of these bilingual services were required by Quebec municipal law, and their provision was facilitated by fairly high levels of competence in both languages on municipal staffs. In the Ontario sector we found only one municipality—the city of Eastview (now Vanier)—that compares with the Quebec municipalities in providing a

¹See McRae, ed., *The Federal Capital*, Chaps. III-IV.

large range of municipal services in both French and English. It had made special efforts to do so, and in 1965 roughly 75 per cent of its municipal staff were considered individually capable of carrying out their work in both languages. The other four municipalities of the Ontario sector, together accounting for nearly three quarters of the area population, were closer to the norms for the rest of the province. Services were available in English in every department and at all levels; services in French were not entirely absent, but were severely limited both in range and quality. Among these municipalities was the city of Ottawa.

Importance of
Ottawa's role

227. The role played by the city of Ottawa in the life of the capital area is of special importance. In the first place, the city of Ottawa, rather than the Capital Region generally, represents for many Canadians the symbolic capital of Canada. To speak more practically, Ottawa accounted for 59 per cent of the metropolitan census area population in 1966, and in 1965 it employed about 80 per cent of the area's civic employees. Though a majority of its residents are Anglophones, Ottawa has the largest number of Francophones of any municipality in the capital area—or indeed of any Canadian municipality west of metropolitan Montreal. In addition, the experience gained and the example set by Ottawa in adapting its linguistic practices will help ease the process of transition for the suburban municipalities in the Ontario sector. For both practical and symbolic reasons it is important that Ottawa should lead the way in the development of bilingual municipal services among the Ontario municipalities.

Suggested first
steps towards
bilingual services

228. To be sure, it cannot establish bilingual services overnight, but a gradual improvement of services available in French would be feasible through a series of three co-ordinated stages. In the first phase, certain reforms could be achieved very quickly. In particular, the city's telephone contacts with the public could be improved. As a start, its main directory listing of departments could be in French and English, so that Francophone residents could reach civic agencies more easily. Unilingual telephone operators at the central City Hall switchboard, who were found to be curtaining off calls in French from civic departments fully capable of handling them, could be either taught simple formulae for transferring inquiries to bilingual operators or transferred to less sensitive duties. As a further step, Ottawa could use a bilingual salutation for all incoming telephone calls, as does Vanier. These simple measures would remove a substantial psychological barrier to the use of French at City Hall.

229. In the same way, some civic departments might make more extensive provision for oral services in French by examining the pattern of public contact of its present bilingual and unilingual employees. It

seems possible that some minor adjustments to these patterns might increase the city's capacity to give services in French. Where these adjustments are insufficient, a specific policy of recruiting bilingual receptionists and secretaries as vacancies occur, or, if necessary, occasional interdepartmental transfers, would achieve the desired objective.

230. Similar short-run steps might also be taken concerning written language use. The city could establish a general policy that all incoming correspondence in French should be answered in French. Some departments do so already, and a progressive extension of the practice to all departments should be feasible. General notices to the public could be issued on bilingual forms, as is done by a few departments already. This policy could be progressively extended to cover all forms and documents issued by the city for public use, including tourist material and also documents originating with or prescribed by the province of Ontario.

231. In this first phase, the demand for service in French may not be extremely heavy, but this initial demonstration of increased capacity to give services in French will invite more frequent use of the language in public contacts with city departments, and greater use will in turn encourage the city to develop its capacity still more.

232. In the second stage, the appropriate goal could be that a suitable proportion of the city's professional, technical, and other specialized staff in positions of public contact be able to deal directly with the public in French or English at the option of the citizen. In some departments this practice exists now, at least to some extent. As this capacity expands, the quality of services offered in French will be considerably improved.

Second stage

233. We believe this is a realistic medium-term goal for the Ottawa civic administration. A knowledge of both French and English should become a larger factor in staff recruitment than it was at the time of our study. Greater numbers of technically qualified Francophones will be entering the labour market as a result of recent educational developments in Ontario and Quebec. In the capital area itself, more Anglophones should be learning French adequately in school, as a result of an earlier beginning and better teaching methods. The work situation itself, with its increasing documentation in both languages, will be a place for improving employees' linguistic facility. Finally, the governments concerned might discuss the admission of some employees of capital area municipalities into federal language-training programmes.

234. In the third and final stage, it might be expected that the heads of civic departments and other senior officials would themselves be

Third stage

able to carry out their departmental duties in either French or English as required, and that this would become a normal qualification expected of senior municipal officials in Ottawa and other capital area municipalities. That this stage is not an unrealistic or impossible goal for a municipality in the federal capital is suggested by the fact that other smaller municipalities of the area, most notably Hull and Vanier, have substantially achieved it already.

235. The city of Ottawa's potential capacity for providing service in French is quite large. Neither money nor personnel should be a serious obstacle. Ottawa is one of the wealthier municipalities of the capital area and, in 1965, 29 per cent of its salaried staff were bilingual—a higher proportion than for the city population as a whole. The problem, in our judgement, is not one of resources, but of attitudes. Until now, the provision of services in French has simply not been given sufficient emphasis in the scale of civic priorities.

Recommendation 8

236. We consider that the balance of political forces in Ottawa municipal politics is by itself inadequate to bring about the necessary changes. Consequently some degree of external stimulus may well be needed. In order to develop the sort of linguistic régime appropriate to municipalities of the capital area, **we recommend that the full range of municipal services be provided in French and English in the capital area and that this be guaranteed by provincial statute.** The case for a statutory guarantee is much the same as the argument for a guarantee of linguistic rights in provincial services. We believe that those who live in the capital area should be able to expect municipal services in French or English universally and as a matter of right, and not just at the discretion of municipal authorities. In this way, any citizen of the area who belongs to an official-language minority, whether within his municipality, in his province, or in the capital area as a whole, would have his linguistic rights recognized by law.

237. As we have noted earlier, the federal government also has a substantial interest in the linguistic régime of the capital area, and has had an enormous influence on the development of the area. Since both these levels of government have an interest in the matter, joint consultation would be appropriate in order to agree on policy objectives.

Regional
government

238. The recently established regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton coincides largely with the Ontario sector of the National Capital Region. Given its wide range of responsibilities, this body will clearly come to play a major role in the capital area. It will undoubtedly also affect relations between the two official-language groups.

239. In the first place, the Francophones of Vanier and, to a lesser extent, of Gloucester township have in the past been able to make their presence felt within these municipalities. In the regional municipality,

however, the Francophones of the Ontario sector are in a minority. There is thus an evident danger that Francophone minorities, which were of direct significance in smaller units and so received satisfactory accommodation of their linguistic requirements, will no longer secure adequate service in their language from the larger and more removed regional government.

240. This danger is increased, in the second place, by the predominant role in regional affairs played by the city of Ottawa, with its poor record in the past for provision of bilingual services. The city has a majority of members in the Regional Council and has transferred many of its staff—some departments *en bloc*—to the new municipality. The influence of the civic administration on the regional government was one of our reasons for urging the early adaptation of the former to a bilingual régime.

241. There also has been continued discussion of regional government in the Quebec sector of the federal capital area, and recently the elements of a master plan have been set out by the province.¹ Since the Quebec municipalities individually have generally coped successfully with providing services in the two official languages, their merger in some form of regional administration is unlikely to raise as many linguistic problems as in the Ontario sector. Nevertheless, the general principles are applicable in both sectors.

242. The development of regional government can aid the progress towards linguistic equality simply because it presents an opportunity for the formal statement of new linguistic policies and the implementation of new practices. On the Ontario side this opportunity does not seem to have been grasped: the enabling Act contains no linguistic provisions; no explicit policy of equality has been enunciated by the regional government; and the old practices of the city of Ottawa seem likely to prevail in the new setting. What is required is more than a few largely symbolic measures, viewed as concessions to a linguistic minority. Many members of this minority form a majority within their own municipality. The preservation of their existing facilities, above and beyond the reasons advanced above, means that the regional municipality must see itself not even as a bilingual district, but as an administration in which the two languages are on a footing of equality. Therefore, as in the case of services from municipalities, **we recommend that the full range of regional government services be provided in French and English in the capital area and that this be guaranteed by provincial statute.** We further urge that the federal government and the two provincial governments, working in consultation, maintain a continuing concern for appropriate linguistic measures at the regional level.

Recommendation 9

¹Ontario Regional Community Act, S.Q. 1969, c.85.

Municipal councils

243. In Book I, we recommended "that the use of both English and French should be permitted in the deliberations of all local government bodies, that all by-laws and regulations should be recorded and printed in the two languages, and that all important public documents and all administrative services should be available in both languages. . . ."¹ However, language use in local government bodies such as municipal councils and boards of education depends to a great extent upon the local situation—the mother tongue of those elected to these bodies and of the electorate, the weight of past practice in the councils, and the ability of administrations to serve them in two languages. Obviously, these forces will mean that many local bodies will continue to operate unilingually for the most part in the near future. The essential point is that the right to use either French or English should be guaranteed through provincial legislation. With the passage of time, provincial and federal attitudes and policies should work to erode the present unilingualism of many councils.

d) The courts

244. In Book I, we recommended that in the capital area "all courts should permit pleadings in the two languages, and that lower courts should be equipped to function in both. . . ."² The right to use French or English is already constitutionally guaranteed for all courts in the Quebec sector and for all federal courts by the British North America Act. The recommendation is thus mainly addressed to the Ontario legal system.

245. The major difficulty in the way of developing the bilingual capacity of Ottawa area courts is that they form an integral part of a system designed to serve the needs of a presently unilingual province (since the Quebec legal system as a whole is bilingual, the courts in the Hull area of the capital are not faced with this difficulty). Because Ottawa cases may be appealed to the unilingual Ontario Court of Appeal, it is felt that all documents and pleadings that may be placed before this court must be in English. Similarly, documents registered in Carleton county must be in English so as to be available for title searches and the like by presumably unilingual Anglophones in other parts of the province.

246. Following publication of Book I of our *Report*, the Ontario government established a task force to deal with the question of bilingual justice. Provincial practice generally continues to shape the linguistic practice of Carleton county, with the anomalous result that one part of the capital area of this country is inadequately equipped to

¹*Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 380.

²*Ibid.*

administer justice in the two official languages of Canada. High priority must be attached to the removal of this anomaly.

247. While reform of the Ontario legal system as a whole is required, certain steps might be taken immediately in the capital area. For example, first instance and trial *de novo* hearings in courts of criminal jurisdiction might be held in French at the option of the accused, with the transcript of the proceedings being later translated in the case of an appeal. Some forms used by these courts—summonses, traffic tickets, and so on—might become bilingual. The provision of interpreters could be put on a more regular basis and be made free of charge. Steps might be taken to ensure that the staff of such courts in contact with the public include persons fluent in both languages.

248. Analogous arrangements could be made with reference to first instance hearings in courts of civil jurisdiction, although there the problem is more complicated by reason of pleadings and other pre-trial proceedings—especially where all parties to the proceedings are not of the same official language. Nevertheless, such measures would all help to equalize linguistic rights in the Ontario courts of the capital area.

249. Pending reform of language use in the Ontario legal system as a whole, therefore, **we recommend that immediate provisions be made by the province of Ontario to extend the use of the French language in the courts that sit in the Ontario sector of the federal capital area.**

Recommendation
10

2. Education

250. Book II of our *Report* was devoted to education, and the general policies and recommendations elaborated there are applicable to the capital area. However, because the federal capital is a special subject, a more detailed examination is required. The provision of educational opportunities and facilities in the Ontario and Quebec sectors of the capital area must be viewed within a provincial context. Within each province, responsibility for education is distributed between the provincial departments of education and their respective local boards. Thus it is necessary to review developments at the provincial level of policy and administration, and to consider in detail the organization and administration of educational institutions at the local level. The part played by the federal government in its role as a taxpayer in the federal capital must also be examined.

251. Both Ontario and Quebec have recognized the importance of official-language schools for the minority. In both provinces, large-scale changes are still under way in educational policy and practices,

Provincial
developments

and thus it is difficult to describe with certainty the stages that may have been reached or the progress achieved. The Ontario department of Education is in the process of changing its entire French-language programme in the direction of our recommendations and those of its own special Committee on French-language schools.¹ The province of Quebec is continuing its long-range process of reorganizing and developing its educational policies and facilities.

Remaining problems

252. Some major problems remain to be overcome. The scope and quality of educational opportunities in the French language in the Ontario sector of the federal capital area still require attention. There is little doubt that shortages of well-qualified Francophone teachers and French-language texts and other teaching materials still exist. For example, in 1968 over 25 per cent of the teaching staff in Ottawa French-language separate schools at the elementary level held certificates below the general provincial minimum, as compared to 10 per cent in the English-language separate schools and none in the English-language public schools.² More important, the French-language secondary level is undergoing great expansion in Ontario; at this level are encountered some of the most complex problems.³ Similar problems are being encountered in Quebec, though less extensively since historically English-language schools in that province have maintained a good rate of development.⁴ Nevertheless, the tremendous demands being placed on educational resources generally, and the special problems associated with official-language minority schools, are just as prevalent in Quebec as in Ontario and require the same long-range considerations.

The local level

253. While problems persist at the provincial level, much has been achieved and important improvements should result from provincial action now in progress. But it is also necessary to examine the organization of educational administration at the local level in the capital area in order to comprehend all the factors involved. In doing so, we have had to consider schools as divided by religion rather than by language, since this is the basis on which the organizational arrangements, and statistical data, are established in both provinces. There are two main perspectives, finances and representation; they will be considered in turn.

Ontario sector

254. The largest numbers of students using an official minority language are found in the Ontario sector of the capital area. Most Francophone children in the Ontario sector at the elementary level attend separate schools. Our research showed little evidence of general

¹ *Report of the Committee on French Language Schools in Ontario*, Ontario Department of Education (Toronto, 1968).

² Figures provided by the Ottawa Public and Separate School Boards.

³ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, §§ 211-37.

⁴ See *ibid.*, Chap. IV.

disparities between the French and English sectors in the separate schools, but did indicate wide variance in the standard of facilities and services provided by the separate and public schools respectively.

255. Since the standard of service is dependent on financial resources, our research included an analysis of revenues for the two Ottawa elementary school boards, separate and public. In summary, the Public School Board in Ottawa has had revenues exceeding those of the Separate School Board by over \$29 million in the period analyzed, while serving slightly fewer students. Per annum, the average per pupil difference in revenue was \$147, and it has fluctuated from a low of \$123 in 1960 to a high of \$173 in 1962. Extending the analysis back another decade, our research showed an accumulated difference in revenues for the two boards of about \$50 million. Table 3 shows the comparative revenue picture since 1960.

Financial resources
of Ottawa school
boards

256. The reasons for this difference are found mainly in the tax system in Ontario, and the manner in which tax assessments are allocated to each school board. For elementary school purposes, taxes are allocated on the basis of the religion of the taxpayer. All tax revenues not specifically directed to separate schools by Roman Catholics automatically go to the public schools. Corporate taxpayers, in order to assign a proportion of the corporation's commercial tax to the separate schools, must demonstrate that the proportion allocated does not exceed the proportion of shares owned by Roman Catholics.¹ Moreover, the amounts of some provincial grants are determined on the basis of a given board's share of local taxes, thereby compounding any differences in the tax base.

257. The consequences of this system can be pronounced. In 1961, the census recorded that Roman Catholics constituted over 45 per cent of the total population of Ottawa. It is unlikely that this proportion has changed markedly in the intervening years; yet in 1968 the Ottawa Separate School Board received approximately 29 per cent of the total residential and 8 per cent of the total commercial tax assessment in Ottawa. In the period 1960-8, more than 75 per cent of the total assessment went to the Public School Board, which was responsible for some 47 per cent of the elementary school population. Table 4 shows these differences in tax revenues. Some progress in equalizing revenues between school boards has been made, of course, through the Ontario Tax Foundation Plan (the "Robarts Plan"), which came into effect in 1963. A comparison of Tables 3 and 4 demonstrates that provincial grants have substantially consolidated the financial position of the separate schools, for example reducing the disparity in revenue per

¹The Separate Schools Act, R.S.O. 1960, c.368.

Table 3. Total Revenue per Pupil—Ottawa Public and Separate School Boards, 1960-8

Year	Public School Board				Separate School Board				Difference	
	Total revenue (\$000,000)	Enrolment	Revenue per pupil (\$)	Total revenue (\$000,000)	Enrolment	Revenue per pupil (\$)	Gross (\$000,000)	Per pupil (\$)	Gross (\$000,000)	Per pupil (\$)
1960	7.71	24,371	316	4.40	22,740	193	3.31	123	3.31	123
1961	8.90	24,551	362	4.93	23,817	207	3.97	155	3.97	155
1962	9.89	24,799	399	5.60	24,788	226	4.29	173	4.29	173
1963	10.44	25,074	416	6.33	25,638	247	4.11	169	4.11	169
1964	11.17	25,647	436	8.00	26,600	301	3.17	135	3.17	135
1965	11.65	26,014	447	8.60	27,243	315	3.05	132	3.05	132
1966	13.01	26,110	498	9.97	28,981	344	3.04	154	3.04	154
1967	14.54	26,551	547	12.59	30,036	419	1.95	128	1.95	128
1968 (est.)	16.83	26,551	633	14.59	30,781	473	2.24	160	2.24	160
Total	104.14	239,668		75.01	240,624				29.13	

Source: Budgets and annual reports of the Ottawa Public and Separate School Boards, 1960-8.

Table 4. Tax Revenue from Residential and Commercial Assessments—Ottawa Public and Separate School Boards, 1960-8

Year	Public School Board			Separate School Board		
	Total tax revenue (\$000)	Enrol-ment	Tax revenue per pupil (\$)	Total tax revenue (\$000)	Enrol-ment	Tax revenue per pupil (\$)
1960	5,817	24,371	239	2,420	22,740	107
1961	6,717	24,551	274	2,639	23,817	111
1962	7,299	24,799	294	2,990	24,788	121
1963	7,573	25,074	302	2,987	25,638	117
1964	7,962	25,647	310	2,823	26,600	106
1965	8,432	26,014	324	2,594	27,243	95
1966	9,355	26,110	358	2,784	28,981	96
1967	11,263	26,551	424	3,196	30,036	106
1968 (est.)	12,799	26,551	481	3,376	30,781	109

Source: Annual budgets and reports of the Ottawa Public and Separate School Boards, 1960-8.

pupil in 1967 from \$318 to \$128. Nevertheless, while the situation has improved, the basic anomaly persists.

Facilities 258. Differences in revenue have had an effect on the quality and quantity of education available in the two elementary systems. One measure is the actual facilities the two boards have been able to provide. In the number and type of classrooms available, the Public School Board has been able to provide more special facilities, such as gymnasias, home economics and industrial arts classrooms, and other specialized facilities. In 1967, all but one of the public schools had gymnasias, while only 14 of the 93 separate schools were equipped with equivalent facilities. This represents a considerable inequality for the separate schools, which most Francophone children attend. Table 5 summarizes the relative position for some of these facilities.

Table 5. Classrooms and Special Facilities in Ottawa Public and Separate Schools, 1967

Type of room	Public schools			Separate schools		
	Total number	Classrooms per school	Pupils per classroom	Total number	Classrooms per school	Pupils per classroom
Regular	940	18.0	28	887	9.0	33
Gymnasium or all-purpose	52	1.0	510	14	0.2	2,145
Kindergarten	67	1.3	396	84	0.9	357
Home economics and industrial arts	49	0.9	541	51	0.5	588

Source: Figures provided by the Ottawa Public and Separate School Boards.

Certification level of teachers 259. Another measure is the comparative certification level of the teaching staffs hired by the Public and Separate School Boards. In 1967, on a standard “teacher qualification scale” used for salary purposes, a comparatively lower proportion of separate school teachers were above level IV, which requires a university degree or better. Part of the explanation for this has been that, because lower revenues are available to the separate school board, it has been unable to attract and retain the more qualified teachers through offering salaries comparable to those offered by the Public School Board. This is one aspect in which direct comparison between French- and English-language schools was feasible. A significant proportion of the French-language teachers fell below the generally accepted minimum level required by the department of Education. Also, comparatively fewer French-language teachers, as compared to the English-language teachers, had upgraded

their standards. This is probably a reflection of the less-developed educational programme available to Francophones in Ontario, especially teacher-training opportunities. Table 6 summarizes these certification levels.

Table 6. Teacher Qualifications—Ottawa Public and Separate School Boards, 1967

	Public School Board		Separate School Board			
	Number	%	English		French	
			Number	%	Number	%
Pre-level I ¹	0	0	71	10.8	187	26.5
Level I	521	43.1	334	50.7	298	42.3
Level II	288	23.8	88	13.4	100	14.2
Level III	147	12.2	46	6.9	37	5.2
Levels IV and above	253	20.9	120	18.2	83	11.8
Total	1,209	100.0	659	100.0	705	100.0

Source: Figures provided by the Ottawa Public and Separate School Boards.

¹ Do not satisfy minimum requirements of Level I.

260. Our study of the educational systems in the Ontario sector indicated that, by measures used, Anglophone pupils generally have had more qualified teaching and better-equipped schools offering a wider range of courses in the public schools than were available to the Francophone pupils in the separate schools. Means seem necessary for equalizing the annual revenue of the two school boards, as well as for overcoming the effects of past disparities which have given the Public School Board superior facilities.

Need to equalize school board revenues

261. At the secondary-school level since 1968, when the French-language schools were taken over by the public secondary board, financing of secondary education in Ontario has presented fewer disparities. English- and French-language schools are now financed from the same general fund, and all taxpayers pay the same rate, except that those Anglophone Roman Catholics who have chosen to attend private schools pay additional tuition fees. Many of the problems noted above for the elementary level persist at the secondary level, but a basic step towards amelioration of these has been taken with the amalgamation of French- and English-language secondary schools. However, the question of allocating scarce financial resources between the French- and English-language schools will continue to be difficult,

Secondary schools

and it is essential that the interests of the Francophone population be adequately represented in this regard.

Quebec sector

262. In the Quebec sector of the federal capital area, the English-language Protestant schools are comparatively well established in relation to the more numerous French-language Roman Catholic schools. In contrast to Ontario, taxation policies in Quebec are such that the revenues per pupil received by the various school boards or commissions are roughly equivalent. These policies are designed to ensure that all school boards in Quebec receive approximately the same basic revenues per pupil, thereby ensuring that all boards are able to maintain a minimum level of services and facilities.

Financing

263. With this programme of basic "normalization," the Anglophone Protestant community has been able to maintain a high rate of expenditure on education. In fiscal 1967-8, for example, expenditures per student by the Protestant and Catholic school boards in Hull were quite comparable. At the same time, however, because the average assessment for Protestant taxpayers was over \$30,000 as compared to approximately \$8,800 for Roman Catholic taxpayers, a differential taxation rate was applicable—1.30 mills for Protestants and 2.10 mills for Roman Catholics. Thus, while Quebec's taxation policies normalized revenues for the various boards, the relative economic positions of Roman Catholics and Protestant taxpayers resulted in differentials in taxation rates.

Role of federal government

264. As well, in regard to the financing of education in the capital area, the federal government's role as a major property owner and lessee in the area must be considered. In terms of municipal taxation, the Crown, as lessee, controls some 31 million dollars of assessment in the Ontario sector, which under Ontario legislation could be apportioned between the separate and public schools. Without direction from the lessee, according to Ontario legislation, the owners of the buildings direct the taxation revenues and, as was noted above, for the most part these revenues go to the Public School Board. Municipal grants in lieu of taxes on federally owned properties are another avenue through which the contribution of the federal government could play a role in educational financing. For the city of Ottawa alone in 1967, these amounted to about \$3 million, and in the past none of this money was allocated to the schools but was part of the city's general funds. Whatever developments occur in the capital area, we consider it imperative that the federal government examine the consequences of its financial participation in education in the capital area and take the necessary steps to ensure an equitable distribution among the school systems therein.

265. In conclusion, it must be remembered that our primary concern is the availability of educational opportunities for Francophone and Anglophone students. In Book II, we recommended that "the right of the official-language minority to have its own schools be dissociated from any consideration of the confessional character of these schools."¹ Of necessity, most of the analysis here has been made on the basis of religious distinctions, but this analysis of the different revenues and levels of expenditure available to the respective school boards in the capital area is of interest to us only so far as it reflects different standards of service available to Francophone or Anglophone students. Nor is it our concern to make specific recommendations concerning taxation principles and practices, which are complex and have implications beyond our mandate. Nevertheless, expenditures on education are important in the context of our basic approach to development of the capital area and involve all levels of government so far as finances are concerned. Revenues available to school boards in the capital area should be examined by the two provinces concerned, and by the federal government, with a view to ensuring that disparities between the boards that may influence the level of service to either official-language minority are eliminated.

266. Another important aspect of school administration is that of representation on local boards and commissions. Unless elective and administrative structures at the local level are positively responsive to the particular needs of the minority-language schools, it is unlikely that the education provided in those schools will ever compare with that available to the majority. In our view, present arrangements in the Ontario sector of the capital area offer little guarantee of such responsiveness. At a time when the provinces are moving towards larger units of administration, the Francophone population in Carleton county is still spread among four local administrations: the Carleton County Public School Board for public elementary and all secondary schools in the county; the Carleton County Separate School Board; the Ottawa Board of Education for all public elementary and secondary schools in Ottawa, Vanier, and Rockcliffe Park; and, finally, the Ottawa Roman Catholic Separate School Board for separate elementary schools in Ottawa, Vanier, and Rockcliffe Park. Consequently, the political voice of the Francophone ratepayers is dispersed. At the elementary level there is no clearly defined formula for Francophone representation, while at the secondary level their only channel is an advisory committee. To ensure that French-language schools develop on a basis of equality, Francophone participation in the direction of operation of these schools must be strengthened and clarified.

Representation

¹*Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, § 420.

267. In the Quebec sector each group administers its schools independently, with the exception of the Anglophone Roman Catholics, who form part of the Catholic school system. As well, the size of school districts varies according to the level of schooling and the population being served. Thus, on the elementary level, the jurisdiction of the Protestant School Board of Greater Hull spans three counties to serve its small and scattered Anglophone population. Also on the elementary level, La Commission des écoles catholiques de Hull, on the other hand, covers a much smaller area because of the high concentration of Francophone Roman Catholics within the municipal boundaries of Hull. Briefly, this diversity in size of administrative units consolidates the more dispersed minority into a more viable administrative unit.

Recommendations
11 and 12

268. For the Ontario sector, similar measures should be adopted to consolidate the interests of the Francophone pupils in Carleton county. Carleton county is an identifiable administrative area in the provincial framework for which special arrangements could be made, and most English-language elementary and secondary public schools in the province already come under a single county administration. While it might be advantageous to consolidate all French-language schools under a single jurisdiction so that they too can take advantage of the benefits that larger units of administration provide the present public school system, such a step would be in conflict with the confessional nature of the French-language elementary schools. Thus, it is unlikely that both elementary and secondary French-language schools could come under the same board as is the case with the English-language public schools. Nevertheless, it would be possible to incorporate all French-language elementary separate schools in Carleton county under the jurisdiction of a single board, as well as incorporating all public secondary French-language schools under the jurisdiction of one board, thereby facilitating the provision of special services and programmes, minimizing costs such as transportation, and making the boards better able to attract and retain their professional talents. Therefore, **we recommend that all French-language elementary schools in Carleton county be placed under the jurisdiction of the Ottawa Roman Catholic Separate School Board. We further recommend that all French-language secondary schools in Carleton county be placed under the jurisdiction of the present Ottawa Board of Education.** These two steps would consolidate the schools serving the Francophone population in the Ontario sector of the capital area, thereby making French-language education more administratively viable. The form this reorganization would take could be unique to the capital area, though still compatible with the provincial framework.

269. Reorganizing the schools along these lines would still result in four different school boards in the Ontario sector of the federal capital area: first, a public board responsible for administering the English-language elementary and secondary public schools in Ottawa, Vanier, and Rockcliffe Park and all French-language secondary schools in Carleton county; second, a public school board responsible for English-language elementary and secondary public schools in Carleton county—except for those in Ottawa, Vanier, and Rockcliffe Park; third, an elementary separate school board administering all French-language elementary schools in Carleton county and the separate English-language elementary schools in Ottawa, Vanier, and Rockcliffe Park; and fourth, an elementary separate school board administering the rural part of the county for the English-language separate schools. However, in this arrangement the Francophone students would be divided between only two boards, and the administration of the schools would thus become more clearly defined for linguistic purposes, giving language the importance it deserves in the federal capital.

270. In Book II we suggested that “When there are enough schools of each kind in a single district, the school board should divide into two committees, one for each kind of school. Each committee would make the administrative decisions relating specifically to the school represented by the members of the committee. The two committees would meet together for decisions affecting all schools in the district.”¹ Thus, within each of the boards outlined above where a Francophone student population exists, we suggest that a committee system be introduced. The Ottawa Separate School Board’s past experience with this type of bicameral structure proved a successful method of running a bilingual administration, and this is the approach we feel should be adopted for the board administering French-language secondary schools in Carleton county.

271. This reorganization would present certain problems in determining the taxes to be allocated to each board. The most complex problem would be presented by the Francophone ratepayers in the rural parts of the county, who would be receiving educational services either from the urban separate school board or the combined secondary school board. A solution would be to have reciprocal arrangements among the boards such that the Carleton county public and separate school boards would continue to levy taxes on all ratepayers in their school districts, and then pay the appropriate Ottawa-Vanier-Rockcliffe Park school board the equivalent average tax revenue per pupil for each pupil resident in that district who attended a French-language

¹*Ibid.*, I, § 442.

elementary or secondary school operated by either of the Ottawa-Vanier-Rockcliffe Park school boards. These latter boards could include these additional students and schools in their applications for provincial government grants.

272. Representation on the two boards operating French-language schools is a complicated matter. While a committee system for each of the two school boards should assure that the interests of the Francophone population will be concentrated within the board itself, it is impossible under present election practice to guarantee that this populace would be represented by Francophone personnel. We suggest that the province and the local boards concerned examine the question of representation for Francophones and devise means to ensure that the interests of the Francophone community are not submerged, particularly in such areas as the appropriation of finances and the recruiting and hiring of teachers. The issue of representation does not present itself in the Quebec sector to any great extent at this time, except that difficulties may occur in accommodating Anglophone Roman Catholics, who are a small minority in the Quebec sector. Otherwise, the major school boards operate independently of each other, thereby allowing Anglophone Protestants and Francophone Roman Catholics to be represented by Anglophone Protestants and Francophone Roman Catholics respectively. Nevertheless, in the event that changes are being considered, the same principles should be applied.

Language and
confessionality

273. A matter of particular importance for the capital area is that of instruction in the other official language without a concomitant commitment to confessionality. Considerable progress has already been made in both provincial sectors in second-language teaching, but parents who wish to have their children educated completely in the other official language now encounter considerable difficulty in enrolling their children in appropriate schools, because of their religious affiliation. In the Ontario sector, teaching of the second official language is now available in many schools in the earliest grades. But an English-speaking Protestant parent in Ontario wishing to have his child educated in French finds that in addition to paying normal taxes, he must also pay a monthly tuition fee to have his child enrolled in a French-language elementary school. Also, French-language elementary schools must of necessity restrict enrolment of Anglophone pupils to prevent interference with the progress of Francophone students, thus presenting another barrier even if the additional fee is not a deterrent to Anglophone parents. Similarly, some Francophone Protestants and others who desire for their children a secular education in their own language find that no public school is available giving instruction in French. In

the Quebec sector similar barriers no longer exist. All parents have the option of having their children educated completely in French.¹

274. The special role and needs of the federal capital of the future will require fluently bilingual people, and school boards in the region should be prepared to make special efforts in this regard. Therefore, we recommend that the province of Ontario and the local school boards concerned examine the possibilities of offering educational opportunities where instruction is given in the second language in the federal capital area, without religious and financial restrictions upon those parents wishing to have their children educated in the other official language. Among the possible solutions in Ontario would be to have the present separate school boards, which have the necessary teachers and texts, operate special non-confessional schools or classes, with the public school boards underwriting the cost through a transfer of funds on a per pupil basis.

Recommendation
13

275. Our last area of concern is with the availability of post-secondary training in the capital area. As we pointed out in Book II, an expansion of opportunities for post-secondary training given in the French language is desirable. The number of degree programmes offered, particularly in the University of Ottawa, should be expanded,² and there is considerable need for an expansion of courses in the technical colleges.³ At this level, where there is substantially more student mobility, there is a great need for more interprovincial co-operation and co-ordination in such matters as admission requirements, programme development, and student financial aid in order that the provincial boundary does not act as an artificial barrier to either Francophone or Anglophone students who wish to attend an institution in a province of which they are not residents. As well, increased co-operation would be most desirable in teacher-training programmes and certification requirements in order to tackle the problem of teacher shortages in such specialized aspects as teaching of the second official language and particularly in French-language instruction in Ontario.

Post-secondary
education

3. *Mass media, cultural activities, economic life, and professional services*

276. In the mass media and cultural activities in the capital area, both linguistic communities have their own structures and institutions, developing from their respective traditions and serving the two communities to the extent that these traditions and their resources permit. There

¹S.Q. 1969, c. 9—a Bill to promote the French language in Quebec.
²See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, § 473.
³Paul A. Comeau, "Franco-Ontarians and Algonquin College" (mimeographed, Ottawa, 1969). Recommendations in this survey have recently been adopted by Algonquin College, which has accordingly expanded its programme.

are two main aspects to be considered. The first is the extent to which these institutions serve the respective linguistic communities. The second is the relation between the two communities, the ways in which they interact and the ways in which the mass media and cultural activities may provide opportunities for better mutual understanding.

Recommendation
14

277. In the first of these, both language communities are basically well served in the capital region. We have mentioned earlier the need for appropriate linguistic services to the public in the major cultural institutions in the region, and re-emphasize this as an important part of ensuring equal service to the two linguistic communities. Beyond this, however, certain disparities still exist, reflecting the basic differences in the resources available in the two sectors. Specifically, the availability of mass media outlets broadcasting in the French language has been more limited than those broadcasting in English. Given the importance of the mass media now and in the future, this is a matter requiring continuous attention. Consequently, **we recommend that the Canadian Radio and Television Commission, in granting future licences and renewing licences presently held, give priority to the principle of linguistic equality in the federal capital area.**

Cultural activities

278. The arts and letters and the mass media also can play a most important part in furthering mutual awareness, knowledge, and understanding between the two linguistic communities. Their potential significance needs no elaboration, but the ways in which this potential can be fulfilled merit consideration.

279. The population of the capital area includes significant Franco-phone and Anglophone communities and the two main linguistic and cultural traditions of Canada come together in daily life. As well, Canadians from all parts of the country visit the capital because it is the capital, or in many cases live there for portions of their lives because it is the centre of Canada's federal political life. Visitors from other countries, often in Ottawa either to represent their governments or to transact their own affairs with the federal government, bring an added dimension of potential vitality and, at the same time, impose a special necessity that the capital truly represent the country. For these reasons, the capital area presents both a special challenge and an opportunity for the expressive arts.

280. Perhaps most important is the necessity that those who are engaged in these activities be sensitive to the existing opportunities. There are many means available, ranging from better coverage of the two communities by the mass media to joint activities in the various arts and letters. A continued evolution in attitudes and approach, and an increased awareness of what can be achieved in response to the special character of the capital area, could result in substantial

progress. Recent developments, both in federal institutions and in much of the activity that might be characterized as more local, are encouraging in this regard.

281. It is evident that in the day-to-day economic life of the capital area, the private and public sectors are interrelated, and that the public sector exerts quite a strong influence on the private. Our research on the private sector in the capital area was not as extensive as the work we did concerning public institutions, but it did reveal a number of changes that could be made. We make no formal recommendations here; rather we intend to discuss areas of concern and suggest measures we feel could be undertaken for the improvement of the linguistic capacity of private institutions.

Economic life

282. Our research showed that in economic and professional services in the capital area, English is the predominant language; such services are almost universally available in English, but far from universally available in French. In many cases investigated, service in French was obtainable, but only after some persistence on the part of the client and often through calling in another, bilingual, staff person. In important aspects of daily life, shopping, and professional services, members of the Francophone community must often make an extra effort in order to obtain services at all, and if they wish to obtain them in their own language they may encounter real difficulty.

Predominance of English

283. As with public services, the private sector should make every effort to recognize and accommodate linguistic duality in the capital region. Again, there are small but important measures that can be adopted quickly without great expense or trouble but that can be of great symbolic and some practical effect. These include, as before, listings in French as well as English in telephone directories, increased bilingual capacity among staff who meet the public on the telephone or in person, and, in larger organizations, institutionalized arrangements ensuring that both Francophone and Anglophone clientele can receive service in their own language. These measures, of course, are relatively minor and easy to implement; nevertheless they are important aspects of everyday life and warrant the continued attention of those involved.

Suggested changes

284. Over the longer term, more systematic steps should be taken. Deliberate arrangements could be made to take advantage of linguistic skills already available in many organizations, and recruiting policies could be adjusted to a more specific orientation of providing service to the public in both French and English wherever a potential demand exists. Also in this stage, we see the possibility of increasing numbers of people in the local labour market whose preferred language of work will be French, as a result of educational changes already under

way in the area. Larger firms who employ substantial numbers of persons should increasingly consider this point in their personnel and work policies and practices, and make provision for it. Working in the French language in the private sector is a natural concomitant of a federal capital where full linguistic equality exists and where, in the public sector, Francophones will increasingly be able to work in their own language.

285. In this connection, public authorities should provide as much specialized assistance as possible, for instance, by making available to the private sector glossaries of technical terms devised for the federal Public Service and by co-operating in specialized language courses in certain technical areas.

4. Economic disparities in the capital area

286. In forming the various sections of our *Report* we have constantly been brought to face the hard world of socio-economic realities. A catalogue of linguistic rights may be drawn up but, in the end, to give someone the right to live and work in his own language without at the same time being concerned with the quality of the life he leads in this language is to substitute a narrow formalism for a realistic solution to the problems of a bicultural country. Thus in this section we must turn to consider economic inequalities in various parts of the capital area.

287. Indeed, the concept that the capital area should be a place where a free choice of residence prevails requires that the economic position of the various municipalities be considered. As long as some of the area's towns continue to be better off than others, the range and quality of services available will vary from one part of the capital to another. Moreover, the municipalities that are more favoured are likely to retain their lead as they continue to attract the lion's share of new residents and new industries and thus to expand their tax base at the expense of the less fortunate cities and towns.

Differences in
average income

288. As a rough measure of the present state of relative prosperity in the capital, the average earnings in the area municipalities may be compared (Table 7). In 1961 the average labour income of male wage-earners in the whole metropolitan area was \$4,407. Two of the five Ontario municipalities fell below this level; both had a high proportion of their population of French mother tongue. In only one of the eight Quebec municipalities did the average earnings rise above the average for the metropolitan area; this was the Quebec municipality with the highest proportion of the population having English as mother tongue. In short, Quebec municipalities were disadvantaged in com-

Table 7. Male Labour Income and Mother Tongue

Average earnings of male wage earners, 15 years and over, and proportion of population of French mother tongue, by municipality—Ottawa metropolitan census area, 1961

	Average annual earnings	Percentage of French mother tongue
Ottawa metropolitan census area	\$4,407	37.7
Rockcliffe Park, Ont.	8,326	10.4
Nepean, Ont.	5,302	3.8
Ottawa, Ont.	4,651	21.2
Lucerne, P.Q.	4,496	45.1
Gloucester, Ont.	4,049	39.6
Eastview, Ont. (now Vanier)	3,913	61.0
Gatineau, P.Q.	3,804	87.1
Aylmer, P.Q.	3,705	56.0
Hull, P.Q.	3,530	90.2
Pointe-Gatineau, P.Q.	3,375	96.4
Templeton, P.Q.	3,087	85.2
Deschênes, P.Q.	3,047	68.0
West Templeton, P.Q.	2,843	61.9

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-549 and 95-528.

parison with those in the Ontario sector, and municipalities with high concentrations of Francophones were disadvantaged in comparison with those that were mainly English-speaking.

289. This situation is certainly not the result of factors arising in the capital area alone. The whole of western Quebec is underdeveloped in relation to most parts of the province. However, factors specific to the capital can also be identified, and in many of these the government of Canada is far from a disinterested bystander. In the following paragraphs we shall examine the part the federal government has played in contributing to the existing disparities and the part it could play in helping remedy them. That it has an immediate interest in so doing seems evident. The current state of economic imbalance in the capital area is scarcely a good advertisement for Canada and represents an important aspect of inequality between the linguistic groups.

290. For both the Quebec and Ontario sectors of the capital area to have equal access to the opportunities, services, and amenities available in the metropolitan area, continued development and improvement of existing roads and bridges will be necessary. While we do not wish to make specific recommendations about these practical aspects

Transportation
and
communications

because so many factors outside our terms of reference are necessarily involved, we do wish to point out that from the perspective of a more equal partnership in the capital area they are of great potential importance. Both public transit systems and roads and bridges are necessary elements in the infrastructure for future development of the region. In addition they will play a key part in the integration of the capital area through facilitating communication between its two sectors.

Recommendation
15

291. Two examples will perhaps make this point clearer. In the federal capital area at this time, both the airport and the railway terminus are located to the south of the city of Ottawa. While the reasons—both historical and contemporary—for the decisions that resulted in these locations are doubtless valid, one consequence is that residents of the region who live in the Quebec sector are relatively inconvenienced. We do not by any means wish to suggest a relocation of either of these services, but merely use them as illustrations of the way in which such arrangements, however valid on their own merits, can have an impact on choice of residence. Improvements in this field most probably lie in the rapid transit systems of tomorrow. However, **we recommend that the question of convenient access to transportation and communication services for the various parts of the capital area be given greater consideration in the future by the federal government and provinces of Ontario and Quebec.** Only in this way can certain disparities between the two sectors be overcome, and real freedom of choice of residence made meaningful in the capital area.

Government
buildings

292. Another important factor in the economy of the region is the location of federal buildings. In the capital area, the federal government is the largest industry, the largest employer, and the largest landowner. Decisions about the location of federal buildings of all kinds will therefore have a strong effect on choice of residence and transportation patterns. As outlined in Chapter IV, the preponderance of federal buildings, both leased and owned, in the Ontario sector is overwhelming; moreover, the imbalance between the Ontario and Quebec sectors appears to have increased in recent years.

293. Of course, many factors are involved in deciding upon the location of buildings. For this reason, a simple quota system for the various municipalities in the federal area is not appropriate, nor is any particular formula for future investment. Furthermore, the present imbalance cannot be swiftly corrected, given the scope of capital investment that would be required. Nevertheless, the importance of the symbolic and practical value of locating a greater number of federal buildings in the Quebec sector must be stressed. Not only would much be achieved in terms of equalizing access to federal services for citizens of the region

and employees who may work in these buildings, but the physical presence of more federal buildings in the Quebec sector would provide tangible evidence of the development of a genuinely integrated capital area.

294. Recent statements by federal ministers form encouraging evidence that the importance of this aspect is now well understood. The recently announced government policy is aimed at eliminating the disparities in the capital area over the next 25 years.¹ However, until the regional disparities are actually removed, **we recommend that any future planning for investment in federally owned or leased buildings in the capital area include a programme specifically aimed at correcting the present imbalance between the Ontario and Quebec sectors.**

Recommendation
16

295. Linked to the distribution of government buildings are the federal grants paid in lieu of municipal taxes. As pointed out above, the municipal grants system takes each municipality individually without reference to its neighbours. Thus arises the situation in the capital whereby one city, Ottawa, receives nine out of ten federal tax dollars coming into the area, while the adjoining municipalities must divide the rest among themselves. We concluded earlier that "these payments have made possible a standard of services in the city of Ottawa that less-favoured municipalities in the area simply cannot match."²

Federal grants and
taxes

296. With the exception of some payments made directly to school boards in the Quebec sector, federal grants in lieu of taxes go to the municipality and are spent as the municipality decides. Some of this money is employed for services the municipality provides to federal building—water supply, sewage disposal, and the like. However, local taxes are also expended on general municipal services such as schools, welfare, and roads. Since the federal grants are largely calculated on the same basis as the municipal rates—taxable property—federal grants in lieu of taxes are spent both to provide services to federal property and to provide services to the wider community.

297. While the continued dispersal of government buildings will do something to alleviate this disproportion, the existing concentration within the city of Ottawa is such as to make for an uneven distribution of grants for the foreseeable future. This concentration, moreover, is so pronounced that, whereas in other metropolitan areas differences in payments to surrounding municipalities may occur, nowhere else is there a comparable concentration of federal government activity on the scale of that found in the capital. There is thus some grounds for treating the Ottawa area as a special case.

¹Statement by the Hon. Jean Marchand, minister of Regional Economic Expansion, Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, May 29, 1969, 1st session, 9203-5.

²See § 164.

298. This is a matter requiring detailed study. Again, because of the complexities inherent in taxation policies and practices, and because factors outside our terms of reference are necessarily involved, we have no specific recommendations to make. Rather we wish to point out the implications of taxation policies for the equalization of services throughout the capital area. In allocating the proportion of federal moneys devoted to community services among the municipalities of the Ottawa metropolitan area, consideration must be given to this question.

Conclusion

299. In conclusion we can only reiterate the importance of a better balanced economic situation throughout the capital area. The present disparities, coinciding largely with linguistic divisions, are a serious threat to the idea of an integrated capital area. Moreover, there can be no doubt the citizens of the less-advantaged municipalities feel acutely the injustice of their situation. The federal government through its construction and financial policies can take some important steps in remedying the current imbalance, but the co-operation of the provincial and municipal authorities will also be required.

C. Co-ordinating the Programme: A Tripartite Agency

Recommendation
17

300. The measures we have recommended will require co-operation and co-ordination of effort and activity among all levels of government. To ensure that such co-operation and co-ordination take place, **we recommend that the federal government and the provinces of Quebec and Ontario establish a specific advisory Tripartite Agency to be charged with the responsibility for detailing co-ordination of the programme we have outlined for the federal capital area.** While the precise format to be developed for this Agency will be a matter of negotiation among the three governments named in the recommendation, with those municipalities directly affected participating in the discussions, a number of observations are possible at this stage.

Jurisdiction of the
Tripartite Agency

301. This Agency would have no jurisdiction beyond that assigned it through the mutual assent of the three governments. We envisage no changes in jurisdiction or territory at the outset. But we do place considerable emphasis on an enhanced and strengthened role for the federal government, whose authority in this respect has been recently clarified by the Supreme Court of Canada.¹ In proposing a new agency we do not intend to lessen federal responsibility and initiative. We seek rather to make possible a co-ordinating of plans where jurisdiction

¹*Munro v. National Capital Commission*, Canada Law Reports, Supreme Court of Canada, S.C.R. 1966, Part VIII, 663.

is divided or uncertain to ensure the widest possible acceptance of federal proposals and to lay the basis for joint action where it may seem appropriate to delegate particular functions to the Agency. Most important, we feel it essential that there be greater co-ordination between the federal and provincial governments in planning the development of the region as a whole. Thus it is imperative that the three governments work co-operatively from the outset in establishing the Agency, which would be brought into being through a tripartite agreement spelling out its powers, functions, and procedures. Some introductory steps have already been taken in this direction, with a tripartite intergovernmental committee (Ontario, Quebec, and federal governments) formed in 1968. However, we feel that the symbolic and practical importance of the capital area warrants more substantial action. For this reason, we are recommending that a formal advisory agency be created, if necessary through the passing of concurrent legislation in the three legislative bodies concerned, but certainly with clear and mutually agreed responsibility to advise on the development of the area.

302. An important first step, naturally, is agreement on the geographic boundaries of the area that is to be the subject of this co-operative effort. A variety of factors will shape final decisions, many of which lie outside our immediate concern. Considerable progress has already been made by the respective provinces in demarcating the logical boundaries for socio-economic and administrative development in their sectors, and little difficulty should be encountered in reaching agreement on the overall area in which the Agency we propose should play its part. It can be anticipated that each of the provinces, from their experience and expertise with local government, will be able to delineate clearly the territorial limits they feel most advantageous in their sector. Equally important will be careful assessment by the federal government of the territories in both provincial sectors in which it should play a role, either through a direct concern with the populace as a major employer or as the level of government concerned with equitable development throughout the region and with the broader goal of developing a capital region appropriate to Canada.

Geographic
boundaries

303. Two other questions arise immediately. First, what of the other provincial governments, who represent other citizens interested in the capital region of the country? Second, there exists in the capital region a host of local government institutions that have grown up in response to the needs of the region. Shaped by many factors—history, economics, social developments—these institutions represent citizens who have a direct interest in specific developments in the region. How can their myriad interests be taken into account?

Representation

304. Many of the issues involved lie within the direct competence of Ontario and Quebec, but the participation of all Canadians in some aspects of the development of a capital region is both desirable and necessary. Two avenues exist for the expression of the interest of citizens of provinces other than the two whose territorial prerogatives are involved. First, of course, is the federal Parliament; in an important sense, the participation of the federal government in a tripartite instrument would ensure that the interest of all parts of the country are represented. The second vehicle is the Continuing Constitutional Conference, wherein all provincial governments may speak for their people on those aspects of proposed development of common interest to all Canadians. To these could be added a third: as concrete developments occur and the new Agency becomes operational, a variety of consultative committees could be established, to which all provinces could make appointments, on particular areas of concern such as cultural developments, architecture and design, transportation, and urban development. Successful precedents for such arrangements exist in Canada, most notably in the centennial celebrations and Expo 67. In short, we do not anticipate serious difficulty in meeting two important objectives—representation and participation for all parts of the country—either through formal government institutions or through additional consultative mechanisms.

305. Local participation and representation present a more difficult problem in the long run. A federal region is an abstract concept, which must achieve concrete administrative application. Local institutions are engaged every day in that concrete application. The interests and rights of local residents must be protected and built into any developments aimed at bringing the concept into being. We rely on the provincial governments, which have constitutional jurisdiction over local institutions, to protect the principles involved, and we feel certain that increased federal participation can be accomplished successfully without jeopardy to these principles.

306. The structure and functions of the Agency must be decided in detail by the parties concerned. Political realities and developments in related fields will, in the final analysis, decide many of the issues raised here, but there are certain general observations our research and analysis equip us to make.

307. As noted above, the paramount structural question is ensuring adequate representation of the various interests involved on the policy-making body of the Tripartite Agency. Ultimately perhaps, its members could be elected by the populations directly concerned. However, a major difficulty arises at the outset from the disparity in population in the two sectors as well as the imbalance between Francophones and

Anglophones in the whole region. This and other practical obstacles suggest that popular elections are impractical in the early stages, and early establishment of the Agency must take precedence. The first members to the policy body in the Agency could be appointed by the federal, Ontario, and Quebec governments respectively, with the provincial appointees being selected through consultation with local bodies concerned. Local government institutions, which are evolving rapidly in both sectors of the region, would continue to play an important role, and as new structures evolve, the long-term goal of electing members may well be achieved.

308. We propose that the operating costs of the Agency be shared by the three governments. These costs would not be large at the outset; the major requirement would be for a small secretariat to provide the necessary technical and administrative services. The Agency initially would be an advisory steering mechanism for co-operative development in the capital region. The relation of existing bodies, such as the National Capital Commission and provincial regional agencies, to the new tripartite planning body will pose some problems; again, these questions must be left to negotiation.

Financing

309. This brings us to the functions. The primary objective must be to provide a mechanism through which the diverse interests and levels of government can be further studied, clarified, refocussed, and co-ordinated towards the development of a capital region appropriate to Canada. Thus, heavy emphasis must be placed first on the accumulation of detailed knowledge about the region. Much has been done: our research provides much useful information on the linguistic, cultural, and socio-economic character of the region; the NCC has impressive amounts of information on resources and infrastructure. The two provinces, in moving towards regional administration, have accumulated much insight and information about the territories and peoples under their jurisdiction; and local governments know well their own resources and problems. What is required is a new synthesis of these, and the Agency we propose would have as a first priority steps in this direction.

Functions

310. A second immediate emphasis will then be on the sharing of information about programmes intended by each of the three governments in their respective jurisdictions, and on efforts at ensuring co-ordination and meshing of these. This will be a complex and, no doubt, occasionally frustrating process, for all levels of government in the region are involved in complex and costly practical programmes. Yet a start must be made and a co-operative approach provides the only realistic avenue.

311. Certain activities directly involving language considerations should also be immediate concerns for the Agency. Many aspects of the linguistic and cultural development touched on in this *Report* require further study. As the various governments involved continue to take steps aimed at the orderly development of the capital area, new problems and opportunities will emerge. At the outset, the Agency we propose would not operate as an executive agency of the governments involved, responsible for programmes. Each government would continue within its own jurisdiction as it saw fit. Rather the Tripartite Agency is intended initially as a mechanism to advise on co-ordinated development, and as such would require only technical competence in the planning field.

Powers and
responsibilities

312. But "co-ordination" is more than co-operative planning. Certain specific powers may be required to resolve conflicting points of view in the interests of the whole, and to enable the Agency to carry out its mandate for planning and co-ordination. We cannot specify in advance what powers may be required. Again, this is a question best left to negotiation and mutual consent among the governments concerned, and to development in the future as experience accumulates.

313. Certain administrative functions, however, seem appropriate for the Agency in the very near future. An early responsibility could be that for standardizing road signs throughout the region, a simple yet symbolically important aspect of daily life. Likewise, co-ordinated promotion of the region—both tourist and industrial—could become an immediate responsibility. This would not include such aspects as tax incentives and municipal services, but rather the provision of data, publicity, and personal services. Finally, the co-ordination of educational facilities and opportunities might be included in the fairly near future.

314. As well, the Agency might move quite quickly towards assumption of responsibilities which, while not primarily involving languages, are related to the development of both parts of the region on a more equal basis. For example, in the field of local transportation, some responsibilities for integrating and co-ordinating existing systems might be devolved to the Agency, even though the basic responsibility for capital and operating expenses might remain where it is for some time to come. Similarly, urban development and economic expansion might well come within the purview of the Agency, again with the main emphasis on planning and co-ordination, while leaving execution or implementation to the appropriate authorities.

An evolutionary
process

315. We expect that an evolutionary process would occur through this Agency. In the immediate future, the objective would be co-ordination of developmental programmes. In the second stage, the

three governments might progressively delegate certain specific executive and administrative responsibilities on a provisional basis and, as experience and confidence accumulated, might extend these to include all aspects of regional administration that would be most appropriately handled on a regional basis. In the final stage, the Agency might be delegated quasi-autonomous jurisdiction over activities in which it had proven competent and effective.

Other aspects

316. Such an agency would also have other important though less specific functions. It would provide a forum for continuous discussion among the three governments of future long-term developments. Related to this, it would provide a focus for public discussion of the long-term possibilities. Whatever may be the long-run development of a Capital Territory, a formal advisory mechanism could contribute much to the kind of development we feel desirable in the present capital area.

D. Conclusion

317. This Book is based on two simple premises. The first is that Canada requires special arrangements to ensure that its capital region adequately reflects the nature of the country. The second is that the federal government must assume a greater role in bringing about these arrangements simply because it is the only level of government whose constituency is the entire country. To this end, we have proposed both specific measures to be taken by the federal and provincial governments and an advisory mechanism to encourage co-ordination in the planning of developments in the region.

318. Action should begin and continue in the development of a capital region where linguistic equality prevails. To this end, we have spelled out specific areas where steps must be taken and we have made a number of recommendations. In addition, because of the demographic and jurisdictional complexity within the capital region, we have recommended the formation of a Tripartite Agency to advise the governments involved in the implementation of these steps. Taken together, both kinds of recommendations provide the elements of a workable approach to the development of a capital region appropriate to the Canadian context.

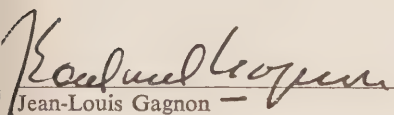
1. We recommend, for the present federal capital and areas to be designated as part thereof, that the French and English languages have full equality of status, and that the full range of services and facilities provided to the public be available in both languages throughout the area. (§ 144.)
2. We recommend that the federal government assume a direct, positive role in promoting equal partnership in all its aspects between Francophones and Anglophones in the present federal capital and in areas to be designated as part thereof. (§ 192.)
3. We recommend that all external and internal signs on all buildings under the control of the department of Public Works in the capital area be made bilingual within two years. (§ 207.)
4. We recommend that all rental contracts for federally leased buildings or parts of buildings in the capital area have a clause containing appropriate provisions for language use on the part of the lessor and his employees or agents, including bilingual internal and external signs on the building itself and provision of services in French and English by elevator operators, commissionaires, and other personnel in contact with the public or with public servants. (§ 212.)
5. We recommend that federal grants-in-aid (including National Capital Commission grants) to municipal or provincial public works projects in the capital area be given subject to an under-

taking that appropriate recognition of the two official languages be observed on the project when completed. (§ 214.)

6. We recommend that, in all activities of federal agencies in the capital area, services in French be freely and publicly offered on the same basis as services in English, and not merely be made available exceptionally or on request. (§ 216.)
7. We recommend that Ontario and Quebec accept in principle that all provincial services provided in their respective sectors of the federal capital and all services provided by the provincial capitals to residents in the federal capital area be available in French or English at the option of the individual citizen, and that this linguistic provision become a right guaranteed by provincial statute. (§ 218.)
8. We recommend that the full range of municipal services be provided in French and English in the capital area and that this be guaranteed by provincial statute. (§ 236.)
9. We recommend that the full range of regional government services be provided in French and English in the capital area and that this be guaranteed by provincial statute. (§ 242.)
10. We recommend that immediate provisions be made by the province of Ontario to extend the use of the French language in the courts that sit in the Ontario sector of the federal capital area. (§ 249.)
11. We recommend that all French-language elementary schools in Carleton county be placed under the jurisdiction of the Ottawa Roman Catholic Separate School Board. (§ 268.)
12. We recommend that all French-language secondary schools in Carleton county be placed under the jurisdiction of the present Ottawa Board of Education. (§ 268.)
13. We recommend that the province of Ontario and the local school boards concerned examine the possibilities of offering educational opportunities where instruction is given in the second language in the federal capital area, without religious and financial restrictions upon those parents wishing to have their children educated in the other official language. (§ 274.)

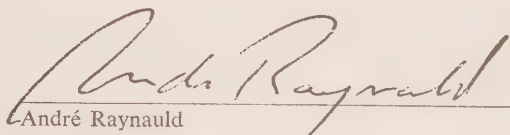
14. We recommend that the Canadian Radio and Television Commission, in granting future licences and renewing licences presently held, give priority to the principle of linguistic equality in the federal capital area. (§ 277.)
15. We recommend that the question of convenient access to transportation and communication services for the various parts of the capital area be given greater consideration in the future by the federal government and the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. (§ 291.)
16. We recommend that any future planning for investment in federally owned or leased buildings in the capital area include a programme specifically aimed at correcting the present imbalance between the Ontario and Quebec sectors. (§ 294.)
17. We recommend that the federal government and the provinces of Quebec and Ontario establish a specific advisory Tripartite Agency to be charged with the responsibility for detailing co-ordination of the programme we have outlined for the federal capital area. (§ 300.)

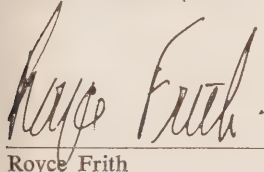
ALL OF WHICH WE RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT FOR
YOUR EXCELLENCY'S CONSIDERATION


Jean-Louis Gagnon


A. Davidson Dunton


Clément Cormier, c.s.c.

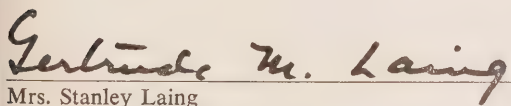

André Raynauld

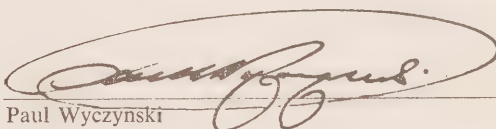

Royce Frith


Jaroslav Bohdan Rudnycky


Paul Lacoste

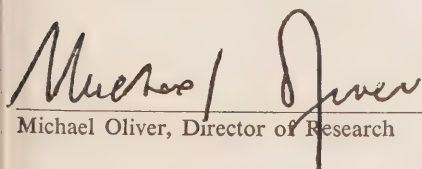

F. R. Scott


Mrs. Stanley Laing


Paul Wyczynski


Peter C. Findlay, Co-Secretary


Gilles Lalonde, Co-Secretary


Michael Oliver, Director of Research


Léon Dion, Special Consultant on Research

February 14, 1970

P.C. 1963-1106

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 19th July, 1963.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, the Prime Minister, advise that

André Laurendeau,¹ Montreal, P.Q.
Davidson Dunton, Ottawa, Ont.
Rev. Clément Cormier, Moncton, N.B.
Royce Frith, Toronto, Ont.
Jean-Louis Gagnon, Montreal, P.Q.
Mrs. Stanley Laing, Calgary, Alta.
Jean Marchand,² Quebec City, P.Q.
Jaroslav Bodhan Rudnycky, Winnipeg, Man.
Frank Scott, Montreal, P.Q.
Paul Wyczynski, Ottawa, Ont.

be appointed Commissioners under Part I of the Inquiries Act to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution; and in particular

¹ André Laurendeau died on June 1, 1968. On October 8, 1968, Jean-Louis Gagnon was appointed Co-Chairman and André Raynauld was appointed a member of the Commission.

² The resignation of Jean Marchand from the Commission was accepted on September 21, 1965. On November 22 of that year Paul Lacoste, formerly one of the Co-Secretaries of the Commission, was appointed to fill the vacancy created by M. Marchand's resignation. On May 1, 1966, Prof. Gilles Lalonde of the University of Montreal was appointed Co-Secretary.

1. to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration—including Crown corporations—and in their communications with the public and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration;

2. to report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures; and to recommend what should be done to improve that role; and

3. having regard to the fact that constitutional jurisdiction over education is vested in the provinces, to discuss with the provincial governments the opportunities available to Canadians to learn the English and French languages and to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.

The Committee further advise:

- (a) that the Commissioners be authorized to exercise all the powers conferred upon them by section 11 of the Inquiries Act and be assisted to the fullest extent by Government departments and agencies;
- (b) that the Commissioners adopt such procedures and methods as they may from time to time deem expedient for the proper conduct of the inquiry and sit at such times and at such places as they may decide from time to time;
- (c) that the Commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisers as they may require at rates of remuneration and reimbursement to be approved by the Treasury Board;
- (d) that the Commissioners report to the Governor in Council with all reasonable despatch, and file with the Dominion Archivist the papers and records of the Commission as soon as reasonably may be after the conclusion of the inquiry.
- (e) that André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton be co-Chairmen of the Commission and André Laurendeau be Chief Executive Officer thereof.

R. G. ROBERTSON

Clerk of the Privy Council

We did not ourselves undertake any systematic research on public attitudes towards the federal capital. During our extensive research on other aspects of the capital, however, a good deal of attitudinal material came to our attention. Among the earliest suggestions from the public was the question of a federal capital district that would be officially bilingual, and further comment on this topic was invited at the Preliminary Hearings in Ottawa on November 7, 1963. After that date the federal capital was a fairly frequent topic of comment, both at the informal hearings held at various Canadian centres and in the formal briefs.

The briefs that mentioned the capital were all but unanimous on one point: Canada should have a "bilingual" or "bicultural" or "neutral" capital where Francophones and Anglophones can meet on a basis of complete equality. Some briefs made the point in a more negative way by deploping existing linguistic arrangements in the capital. In any case, the briefs showed as high a degree of consensus on this point as on any issue that has been before us. It is perhaps worth noting that certain briefs which argued for more restricted linguistic rights for official-language minorities than those we have recommended nevertheless supported the principle of equal linguistic rights in the capital itself.

Of the briefs that mentioned the capital, some asked for an officially bilingual capital—a "show-case," a "joint venture" of Francophones and Anglophones, and similar phrases were used—

without any further indication as to how this should be arranged; others merely criticized existing linguistic practices in Ottawa. A number called for some form of federal district, and others, without using the term, called for the capital to become an autonomous area independent of the provinces; two briefs expressed opposition to a federal district, and two others advocated provincial or "city-state" status for the capital area. Of the remaining briefs, several suggested basically a variety of specific reforms within the existing constitutional jurisdiction—though here also a federal district reappeared in two briefs as a possible solution, to be achieved either by long-run evolution, or as an alternative in the event that intergovernmental co-operation proved unsuccessful. One brief defended existing arrangements and opposed change.

Three of the organizations that presented briefs reported the opinions of their membership on the question of an autonomous federal district. Of 353 members of the Association des femmes diplômées des universités, 75 per cent were favourable, 12 per cent were opposed, and 13 per cent gave no opinion. Francophone members were 157 in favour to 5 against; Anglophone members were 107 in favour and 38 against.

The New Democratic Party of Ontario put this question and others to all members of its Provincial Council and also sent the questionnaire to all riding associations. Of 213 replies received, 61 per cent favoured a federal capital district,

27 per cent were against it, and 11 per cent gave no opinion. The Provincial Council favoured a federal district by 27 to 5, with one uncertain; the mailed-in replies were 103 in favour to 53 against, with 23 giving no opinion.

A third organization, La fédération des collèges classiques, sought the opinions of its member institutions on a "neutral" federal capital removed from the provinces. Of the 50 replies received, 46 were in favour, 3 were against, and one gave no opinion.

It might, of course, be argued that those presenting briefs to us were a somewhat unrepresentative segment of opinion in that they may have viewed the federal capital primarily from the perspective of our own terms of reference—particularly from the standpoint of equal partnership. For this reason, although we did not ourselves undertake systematic research on attitudes, we have noted with some care whatever evidence became available from outside sources. In this way we obtained results from four local surveys, of which three refer to the Ontario sector and one to the Quebec sector.

The three surveys in the Ontario sector all date from 1967. The first, conducted by two faculty members of Carleton University, Professors J. Scanlon and R. March, in January 1967, was based on a sample of 80 persons from the Ontario sector of the Ottawa metropolitan census area. Although the sample is small, this was the only survey designed to cover most of the population in the Ontario sector. It asked first for preferences as to the form of government for Ottawa, and later a second, direct question: "Are you in favour of turning the national capital area into a federal district?"

The second survey, conducted by Mr. A. B. R. Lawrence, M.L.A. for Carleton East, in his own constituency in March 1967, was a mailed questionnaire in English and French to 14,000 constituents, of whom about 2,000 replied. Its categories were similar to those of the first Scanlon-March question, and the results for both surveys have been tabulated in Table A-1. It might be noted that the Ontario government's proposal for a regional government in the Ontario sector of the capital area was officially announced on February 1, 1967, between the two surveys; this may account in some degree for the higher support for regional government in the following month. In the Lawrence survey it was reported that the response patterns of returns completed in English and in French were broadly similar, with a somewhat greater interest in a federal district discernible among the returns in French.

The third survey was conducted in November 1967 by the Hon. R. A. Bell, M.P. for Carleton and candidate for the altered federal riding of Grenville-Carleton, among the residents of those areas. A questionnaire on several issues of public policy was mailed to 58,000 electors, and 7,000 replies were received. In this survey, respondents were asked whether they approved or disapproved of specific propositions, so that the result on the federal district issue may be compared with the second Scanlon-March question (see Table A-2).

The only survey to date in the Quebec sector has been one conducted in May and June 1969 by the municipality of Lucerne. It also was in the form of a mailed questionnaire sent out to 3,000 ratepayers, of whom 516 returned replies up to July. This inquiry focussed only upon the preferred system of municipal government, mentioning a federal district and two forms of

Table A-1. Preferences as to a Form of Government for the Ottawa Area (Percentages)

Survey	Sample (number)	Federal district	Eleventh province	Regional or metro- politan government	City to annex suburbs	No change ¹	Other and no opinion	Total
Scanlon-March	80	40	0	13	1	23	23	100
Lawrence	2,000	27	4	30	10	10	19	100

¹ The Scanlon-March Survey stated: "retain present Board of Control."

regional government as alternatives to the present system. Of the replies received, 71 per cent favoured a federal district, 27 per cent favoured one or other form of regional government, and 2 per cent supported the present system (Table A-3).

Apart from being the most recent sampling of local opinion, the Lucerne survey is also interesting because it asked respondents whether they considered themselves to be of English or French "culture." Many respondents wrote in "both" or simply "Canadian" or "other" to this question. As was the case with the Lawrence survey in the Ontario sector, there appears to be some tendency for the minority (those of "English culture" in this case) to be more favourable to a federal district. Nevertheless, the clear majority in favour of a federal district in every group is striking.

All these surveys are open to criticism on certain technical grounds. None covers the whole metropolitan area. We have as yet no completely reliable evidence as to the form of government preferred by the entire population of the capital area. Yet, even allowing for a certain margin of error, all the surveys suggest strongly that some form of federal district for the capital is a realistic and preferred form of government for a far from negligible proportion of the local population *even at the present time*.

In the next Appendix, some of the arrangements that might be appropriate for the governing of a capital territory based on a mature concept of equal partnership are discussed. Their adoption as a programme for the immediate future has not been proposed; in our judgement certain more immediate and practical improvements could come

Table A-2. Should the National Capital Area Become a Federal District? (Percentages)

Survey	Sample (number)	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion or don't know	Total
Scanlon-March	80	50	40	10	100
Bell	7,000	44	24	32	100

Table A-3. Lucerne Survey: Preferences as to the Form of Government for the Federal Capital Area (Percentages)

Group	Sample (number)	Federal district without provincial jurisdiction	Regional municipality and provincial planning corporation	Regional municipality and joint federal-provincial- municipal planning corporation	Status quo	Total
"English culture"	222	86	2	11	1	100
"French culture"	137	68	8	22	2	100
Others ¹	157	52	24	21	3	100
All groups	516	71	10	17	2	100

Source: Figures supplied by the municipality of Lucerne, July 9, 1969.
¹ Includes English and French, other than English or French, and "Canadian" not otherwise specified.

first. Yet the attitudinal data that we have now suggest that discussion of a Capital Territory is by no means a Utopian exercise. For many residents of the area, the idea exists now. In time, support for it might grow into a broader consensus, particularly if the problems inherent in

establishing it are progressively resolved through rational discussion and negotiation. Present attitudes are closely associated with present institutional arrangements and are an important factor that will ultimately determine what kind of capital Canada will have in the future.

The essence of a Capital Territory may be stated in three points. First, it could entail the establishment of a new jurisdiction over both the Quebec and the Ontario sectors of the area to be designated as the federal capital. For this area, provincial jurisdiction as it exists today would cease. The provinces of Quebec and Ontario, however, might well continue to have some role *within* the new jurisdiction, depending on the form of government to be established. The important thing is that the present provincial level of government would be replaced by a new body more closely fitted to the requirements of the federal capital.

Second, this new jurisdiction would develop a new governmental structure. This structure could carry out many of the functions presently performed by the provinces. For example, it could administer educational systems, oversee municipal affairs in the area, provide welfare services, exercise taxing powers, and so on. But a territorial government would not necessarily have the same list of powers as the provinces, since the special conditions of the federal capital might well require somewhat different arrangements. For example, while a province may amend its own constitution, the power to amend the territorial constitution might be vested in the federal government rather than in the territorial government.

Third, such a territorial government need not stand in the same relation to the federal government as the provinces do. In Canada's federal

system, provinces are autonomous within the jurisdiction allotted to them by the Constitution. The territorial government, while exercising a broad jurisdiction over many of the normal provincial areas of concern, could nevertheless do so subject to limits, guarantees, and general norms established from time to time by the federal government, or through federal-provincial consultation and agreements. To proceed otherwise would be to ignore an important issue basic to this approach: the continuing development of a stronger federal participation in the government of the federal capital.

While the question of a "federal district" has been a frequent topic of discussion in the newspapers and the broadcasting media, and has become even more intensive during the past few years, a good deal of the public discussion has been clouded by emotionalism and false issues. Nevertheless, the real issues should be considered calmly and on their own merits. Therefore, in order to further public understanding and discussion of these issues, some of the more important of them are treated separately in this Appendix in full recognition that the views presented here constitute only a first approach to some extremely complex problems.

From the perspective of bilingualism and biculturalism, the development of a Capital Territory in the long run would be a desirable goal if it can best accomplish the objectives of full equality as our Commission has defined them for the capital area. Some results it might

reasonably be expected to accomplish are the following. It could provide a most effective framework for overcoming the present economic imbalance between the Quebec and Ontario sectors. It could radically alter relations in the area—in particular, relations between members of the majority and the minority. It could afford a better chance for the development of a vigorous, self-reliant Francophone community in the capital area, overcoming the present demographic pattern that divides the Francophone population almost exactly in equal parts on either side of the provincial boundary.

Other reasons beyond this perspective have also been advanced for the creation of a federal district or Capital Territory. Perhaps the most important is that such a structure could enable a more effective implementation of urban and regional planning, and especially of the National Capital Plan of 1950. A new jurisdiction over both the Quebec and Ontario sectors could also facilitate closer co-ordination of municipal and regional services, such as a public transportation system and a co-ordinated network of roads.

However, many detailed questions are involved in working out the possible institutional structure of a Capital Territory, such as territorial boundaries, legislative and financial arrangements, linguistic and cultural guarantees, the relations between civil law and common law, the restructuring of educational systems, and others. Most of these questions would have to be settled through complex and far-ranging negotiations between the federal government and the two "founding provinces" of the Territory—Quebec and Ontario.

As well, there exist at present certain formidable obstacles to the creation of a Capital Territory, upon whose understanding and appropriate resolution the achievement of full equality between Francophones and Anglophones in the capital in great measure depends. The provincial framework, as we noted in Chapter II, is immensely strong in its influence on the outlook and attitudes of residents of the federal capital. Residents in the area therefore tend to view the prospect of a federal Capital Territory in rather different perspectives according to their province of residence. There are corresponding differences

between Quebec and Ontario attitudes among those residents outside the capital area itself.

In the province of Quebec, perhaps the first and most obvious characteristic of prevailing opinion is a massive mistrust of any arrangement that would involve the establishment of any new Anglophone majority. Related to this is a deep-seated fear of assimilation. Those who share these feelings believe that Canadian history to date affords no example whatever of a successful partnership between Francophones and Anglophones on terms of real and lasting equality. Consequently, in the Quebec sector of the capital there are serious apprehensions that the loss of majority status in the area would endanger the linguistic heritage. Moreover, residents of the Quebec sector would seem to have little to gain from a linguistic standpoint in becoming part of a Capital Territory; their language arrangements are basically satisfactory now.

Beneath this basic suspicion of Anglophone majorities undoubtedly lies a strong scepticism as to the probable efficacy of the federal government's linguistic policy in the capital. Francophones in the Quebec sector doubt that linguistic rights can be guaranteed so that they are fully secure, and they want some evidence of success in the present capital area in order to balance the risks of the larger venture against its advantages.

For the Hull area, a Capital Territory also raises the prospect of being integrated more fully into the economic life of the region. Even this arouses some rather justifiable suspicion. The Quebec sector of the capital has suffered from such a delay in economic development that institutional reforms alone are unlikely to change basic attitudes. Indeed, there is no guarantee that a Capital Territory would automatically bring the Quebec sector parity of economic development with the Ontario sector; some deliberate policy to make up for past neglect would seem necessary.

Finally, the creation of a new jurisdiction of any kind for the federal capital raises the question of the territorial integrity of the province of Quebec. The growth of nationalist sentiment since the 1930's and the Privy Council decision in the Labrador case in 1927¹ have made this a highly sensitive issue. Indeed, the present

¹ *Dominion Law Reports*, 1927, Vol. 2; *Re Labrador Boundary* (Toronto, 1927), 401-29.

functions of the National Capital Commission in the Quebec sector, and particularly the Commission's powers of expropriation, have been the target for much criticism locally. The objective of maintaining Quebec's autonomy as fully as possible over its entire territory has become a central tenet for a wide range of public opinion in the province. To find a formula that reconciles Quebec's territorial integrity with the need for an integrated federal capital is perhaps the central obstacle to be overcome. These and other questions are dealt with in full detail from the Quebec perspective in the *Rapport de la Commission d'étude sur l'intégrité du territoire du Québec*, and solutions based on provincial initiatives are advanced therein.¹

The obstacles on the Ontario side are probably different in both focus and intensity, but they are real nonetheless. The people of Ontario would undoubtedly regret the detachment of the third largest urban area in the province, and the effect on provincial government revenue would be significant. The area in question, while not among the earliest parts of the province to be settled, has strong historical traditions dating back to the early 19th century. Yet there does not appear to be the same sense of distance between the province and the federal government as is felt in Quebec. Recent developments in the province also suggest that there is a willingness in Ontario to accept changes if it can be demonstrated that they advance the cause of Canadian unity.

On the other hand, in the capital area itself there might be a stronger resistance among the Anglophones to the creation of a new jurisdiction. This feeling is compounded of a number of motives. Anglophones will clearly be reluctant to change a system of institutions that has provided efficient government and a high standard of services in the urbanized area. There may be some fear of unknown or imagined alternatives, and particularly fears of a loss of privileges at various levels. Many Anglophones may be hesitant to support bilingual facilities and services when the unilingual English-language ones they know have never caused them personal inconvenience. Finally, the residues of old religious differences still linger in the attitudes of the Ottawa Valley, and to some extent even in the capital area itself. On the whole, the major obstacles on the Ontario

side are the local ones; to surmount them, a carefully fashioned structure of government for a Capital Territory would have to be developed.

Apart from its importance for the capital area itself, a Capital Territory would have certain effects outside the limits of its own jurisdiction; these consequences require careful study. The Quebec sector of the capital is the major urban centre for the four counties of western Quebec: Hull, Gatineau, Papineau, and Pontiac. These counties constitute a distinct economic region, somewhat isolated from the rest of the province, and separated by the provincial boundary from the Ottawa Valley counties of eastern Ontario. Since Hull is the only major urban centre in the region, it is clear that its inclusion in a Capital Territory might involve serious adjustments in the regional economy. At the least, these would have to be studied in some depth before a new jurisdiction could be established.

The problems for the adjacent Ontario counties are scarcely the same. Eastern Ontario has urban centres other than Ottawa and good transportation connections. However, creation of a Capital Territory would have consequences for the Francophones scattered throughout the province, for whom Ottawa is a major focus of organizations and associations, a cultural centre, and almost a spiritual capital. The Ontario Francophones outside the capital might ultimately draw inspiration and strength from a régime of equality in a Capital Territory, but the short-run consequences will require study and adjustment nonetheless. In particular, the consequences of removing approximately one-fifth of its Francophone population from direct provincial jurisdiction will require close attention.

The economic problems of western Quebec and the cultural problems of the Ontario Francophones outside the capital are not, perhaps, paramount issues; higher priority could be given to the principle of equal partnership in a federal capital worthy of Canada. Nevertheless, issues such as these show the necessity for careful study, for a new jurisdiction for the capital area ought not to be founded on injustice to smaller or weaker groups that will have to remain outside.

In addition to the rather general obstacles already outlined, there is a range of practical questions involved in creating a workable Capital

¹ See Quebec, *Rapport de la Commission d'étude sur l'intégrité du territoire du Québec*, Vol. 1.2 (Quebec, 1968), 65-79.

Territory. As long as these questions remain unsettled, they will constitute an additional source of hesitation for Francophones and Anglophones alike. For example, what arrangements would be made concerning the two systems of private law presently operating in the area, that is, civil law in Quebec and common law in Ontario? What would be done to restructure the complex set of educational systems? What protections would be provided for political rights, and for local interests? The list could easily be extended.

These questions are not just hindrances to be surmounted; a Capital Territory would have to be shown to be capable of improving on existing arrangements in these fields. The present hesitation and mistrust of a Capital Territory are understandable and justified until its structures are worked out and its advantages agreed upon. This consideration applies especially to Francophones living in the Quebec sector. In a federal Capital Territory they would surrender their present position of a linguistic majority; their compensating advantages of full integration in the capital area and adequate linguistic guarantees must be spelled out firmly enough to make the change worthwhile. If the steps recommended in Chapter V for the immediate future prove effective, these obstacles will diminish in significance as mutual trust and co-operative procedures develop. As this occurs, the ideal of a Capital Territory may well emerge as a viable alternative for the capital region.

However, it is obvious that to develop satisfactory arrangements for a Capital Territory would be no easy task. Many diverse interests have to be considered, and much political negotiation would undoubtedly be required on the part of the governments concerned. At this stage there are no final answers or precise formulae to propose; what is set down below may serve rather as an agenda for serious public dialogue.

A. Geographic Boundaries and the Territorial Integrity of Ontario and Quebec

Although establishing precise boundaries for a Capital Territory requires specialized knowledge, it is possible to note certain conditions to be fulfilled in arriving at such boundaries.

First, the decision should be made on the basis of the best possible forecast of the long-run development of the capital area. Since changes in territorial jurisdiction are difficult to obtain, a decision for the capital area should be made in view of its expected development over at least the next century, or as far ahead as projections for development can be made meaningful. Several existing federal capitals have outgrown the original districts created for them. In Canada, where a major reason for the establishment of a Capital Territory would be the provision of a guaranteed régime of linguistic and cultural equality for Francophones and Anglophones alike, it would be important that such a régime should extend into the outlying suburban areas, where most new residents of the capital will tend to settle.

For the Ontario sector, there would appear to be a substantial consensus as to the appropriate limits of the capital area. The Ontario portion of the federally defined National Capital Region comprises 1,050 square miles; the provincially established regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton comprises 1,060 square miles. Though the boundaries are not identical, the two regions overlap substantially and both extend a long way beyond the present built-up areas.¹ Only considerations of development over the very long run would seem to require a significant change.

In the Quebec sector the situation is less clear. The Quebec portion of the National Capital Region, as defined by federal statute, comprises 750 square miles. The 23 municipalities that have been involved in recent discussions about regional government in the Quebec sector, and which are situated wholly within the National Capital Region, together comprise only 540 square miles. The delimitation of suitable boundaries for a Capital Territory in this sector would involve discussions between the Quebec and federal governments based upon a careful consideration of the long-run development of the Quebec sector in relation to the federal capital area as a whole. It seems quite probable that with the removal of physical and jurisdictional barriers this sector would account for an increased proportion of the developed area of the capital.

¹ In December 1968, the government of Ontario proposed the limits of the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton as the "logical boundaries" of the Ontario portion of a formally designated Capital Territory.

The question of territory, however, is far more than a matter of suitable boundaries. Creation of a Capital Territory including both the Quebec and the Ontario sectors would require the creation of a new jurisdiction independent of both existing provincial jurisdictions. Correspondingly, the ordinary jurisdiction of each province over its own sector would be replaced by the new jurisdiction over the combined Capital Territory.

It is at this point that the case for a Capital Territory encounters one of the strongest arguments advanced against it by many people in Quebec: that a change of this nature would involve an irrevocable cession of Quebec territory and population to an unknown and untried new political unit which would have an Anglophone majority; and that the past history of English-speaking Canada affords no grounds for optimism on this point. It is necessary to recognize the force of this argument and the intensity of feeling that it generates. If a Capital Territory is to become a reality, this issue must be resolved in a way satisfactory to all concerned.

As a first approach towards the discussion of this issue, three comments can be made. First, no outright cession of territory seems to be required. The provincial governments could proceed either by a lease of territory and jurisdiction to the new authority, or perhaps by a delegation of powers alone.

Second, whatever arrangement is made need not be made in perpetuity, though it would require sufficient stability to support major developmental programmes by both federal and private interests. In the event that the major objectives of cultural equality were not attained, or that the Canadian Confederation were dissolved or substantially altered, or that the federal capital were transferred elsewhere, both provinces could be guaranteed a clear right of recovery of the territory relinquished in their respective sectors.

Third, it may be noted that by the establishment of a Capital Territory the federal government would not become the absolute owner or proprietor of the land lying within the Territory. In the past, the federal government, acting through the National Capital Commission, has acquired considerable amounts of land simply to control its use. If the federal interest were suitably represented in the governmental arrangements for the Territory, the role of the federal government

as a landowner might actually diminish, for its holdings could then be related more directly to its own needs and projects.

B. Governmental Institutions for a Capital Territory

The question of a possible form of government for a Capital Territory has given rise to some major misconceptions. All too frequently in Canada, any proposal for a special capital territory tends to be identified at once in the public mind with the system developed in Washington, D.C., which has the oldest and best-known of all federal districts. There are, however, many variations in governmental arrangements for federal capitals, and each federal state must develop a set of institutions to resolve its special problems.

Although a Capital Territory could provide a new setting for the resolution of a whole range of local and federal issues, the pattern of institutions that might be evolved for such a territory need not be vastly different from those existing today. For example, it is likely that residents of the area would retain three distinct levels of government: federal, municipal, and a new territorial government for the Capital Territory itself. The federal and municipal levels would not be greatly affected by the creation of a Capital Territory. In particular, the federal and municipal franchise could continue unchanged. As elsewhere in Canada, members would be elected to the federal House of Commons for capital area constituencies, and similarly the area would be appropriately represented in the Senate.

The territorial level of government raises more interesting questions, because clearly some new body would have to be developed. At the start, two extreme positions can be identified and rejected. On the one hand, it seems unlikely that the territorial government would be under any form of direct federal control, whether that of a parliamentary committee, a ministry, or federally appointed officials or commissioners. Such a system would be too much at variance with the long traditions of self-government of the capital area. On the other hand, the territorial government should probably have rather less autonomy than a province, for otherwise the

interests of Canada as a whole in the federal capital would be expressed inadequately. A successful solution must lie somewhere between these extremes.

The proposed government for the Territory can be looked at in a number of different ways. Some have seen it as an enlarged municipal government, a regional municipality, operating under the federal government rather than under a province. Some have seen it more as a substitute for a provincial government. It might also include some elements of both these levels, together with other elements distinctive to its special role as an agency administering a federal capital. It is clear that the problem of allocating responsibilities to the various levels of government is complex, though an eventual solution on these lines might well prove significantly less complicated than the present four-tier arrangement for the area, which includes the federal government, two provincial governments, two regional governments, and a large number of municipal governments—plus the further possibility of an eventual Tripartite Quebec-Ontario-Federal Agency to co-ordinate the policy of all the others.

Discussion of a territorial government must resolve two main questions: its structure and its powers. In both, the central issue would seem to be the question of reaching an appropriate balance between the interests of the resident population and those of Canada as a whole.

Concerning structures, the appropriate legislative authority for the Territory would seem to be a council directly elected by the residents of the area on the basis of single-member constituencies. Such a body would serve to protect regional interests above the municipal level and it would provide the residents with a legislative authority directly responsible to the electorate of the region. It would be in accordance with Canadian electoral practices in other jurisdictions, and it would provide a forum for the integration of the present Quebec and Ontario sectors into a single federal capital.

Electoral constituencies would doubtless be arranged according to population and with some regard to existing municipal boundaries. However, in the short run, the Quebec sector might have an undesirably low representation, and each

sector might be guaranteed a minimum proportion of the seats—perhaps one-third—on the same principle that Canadian provinces are guaranteed a minimum representation in the federal House of Commons regardless of population.¹ It must be remembered that Francophone representation will be considerably higher, because half the present Francophone population lives in the Ontario sector.

If a directly elected council assures a voice for the interests of the regional population, there remains the problem of representing the federal interest, the interest of Canada as a whole. It is doubtful that this should be done through federal appointment of officials to the same territorial council: the experience of legislatures that have combined elected and appointed members suggests that such arrangements are seldom satisfactory. It would probably be better to provide a safeguard for the federal interest—that is, for the interests of Canada as a whole in the capital area—either by a power of review of territorial measures vested in a federal parliamentary committee, or by a power of federal disallowance of such measures, or by some similar means. The grounds for exercise of this overriding power could be specified quite explicitly in the constitution of the Capital Territory. The fact of popular election of the territorial legislature should be a sufficient deterrent to misuse of this power and a guarantee of vigorous expression of local interests.

As to the distribution of powers between the various levels of government, only a general indication can be given until the question has been discussed seriously among the levels of government concerned. At the municipal level, a continuing list of local government responsibilities can be visualized. Quite apart from any question of establishing a federal territory, these powers appear to be shrinking as large metropolitan areas move towards regional government. The next level, the territorial government, might be given, first, those powers that, broadly speaking, nowadays fall to the regional or metropolitan governments, and, second, many of the powers currently exercised by the provinces. However, it might be decided that, with respect to the new Capital Territory, some current provincial responsibilities might be left to the federal Par-

¹ By Section 51A of the British North America Act, 1867, as amended by the British North America Act, 1915.

liament on the ground that they relate more closely to the interests of Canada as a whole than to the local population. Possible examples might be the power to amend the constitution of the Capital Territory, or to borrow money, or to construct major public works.

It would be important that the territorial government and the federal government should not stand too far away from one another. There must be some element of flexibility in order to meet the constantly shifting range of regional and federal interests that would have to be reconciled. Most of the ordinary powers of the territorial government could be capable of amendment or redefinition by federal statute, relying upon the political strength of the elected members of the territorial council to forestall undue federal encroachment. Through such a division, a balancing mechanism might be developed to resolve new conflicts between regional and federal interests as they arise.

Certain matters, however, would doubtless be considered too important and too fundamental to be left to the discretion of the federal Parliament. For these matters—and among them linguistic and cultural rights must be included—firm guarantees must be found.

C. Guarantees for Fundamental Rights

In the context of this *Report*, the most important single reason for forming a Capital Territory would be that it would create a setting in which might be realized to the fullest degree possible an equal partnership between Francophone and Anglophone Canadians in conducting the affairs of a federal state. To this end it is essential that the linguistic and cultural rights of Francophones and Anglophones in the capital should be placed on a footing of complete equality. If this equality cannot be firmly assured, there would be far less justification in asking the provinces of Quebec and Ontario to co-operate. Indeed, both provinces might insist on firm linguistic and cultural guarantees as part of the agreement by which the Capital Territory would be established.

For this reason it would be essential that there be firm, constitutionally entrenched guarantees for linguistic and cultural rights in any

future Capital Territory. These rights should be both specific and enforceable: in a specified range of facilities—including all levels of governmental administration and public agencies, courts and tribunals, all programmes of elementary and secondary education, and publicly supported cultural facilities—services of comparable standards should be freely available in both French and English. This list is merely illustrative; other areas might be added during the negotiations between the governments concerned. It is even worth considering whether similar guarantees ought not to be extended to certain parts of the private sector, such as, for example, services offered by large retail establishments, or services offered to visitors and travellers. Of course, other kinds of rights, such as barriers to discrimination in housing or employment, could be protected in the same way.

Since in the capital area as a whole even the present position of French is precarious, formal legislation setting out a specific policy of language protection and development is needed if the capital area is to afford a base for equal partnership between Francophone and Anglophone citizens. Linguistic rights should be spelled out explicitly and positively in law, and the broad framework of this linguistic régime for a Capital Territory should not be alterable by decisions of a majority of electors in the region but should be firmly entrenched in the constitution of the Capital Territory as a basic and universal right.

In addition, in order to safeguard these basic linguistic rights, a whole series of levels by means of which linguistic equality can be made meaningful would be required. In the first instance, the pattern of political representation would give considerable scope for action at the political level. There would be fairly strong representation of Francophone electors in the territorial council; in all likelihood about 40 per cent of its members would represent predominantly Francophone constituencies. Above the territorial level the federal Parliament could also have the power to review measures affecting the linguistic régime of the capital. A parliamentary committee for this purpose could appropriately give equal representation of Francophones and Anglophones in its membership.

Secondly, there could be a body of formal language legislation, wholly or partially entrenched

in the constitution of the Capital Territory, on the basis of which appeals could be made to the courts if the linguistic rights of a citizen were violated or ignored. Such legislation could also contain provisions enabling the federal Commissioner of Official Languages to act as an ombudsman in linguistic matters and so resolve many complaints without resort to formal legal action.

If these combined political and legal safeguards were felt to be inadequate, there remains another possible line of defence. Ontario and Quebec would be the "founding provinces" of the Capital Territory in the sense that their willingness to relinquish territorial jurisdiction is necessary in order to create a new jurisdiction over the capital. Arrangements could be made in the negotiation of the original agreement that changes in the basic linguistic régime of the new Territory would be subject to review not only at the federal level but also by Ontario and Quebec. In this way each linguistic group in the capital could expect some degree of protection on linguistic issues by a senior level of government in which its own language and culture predominated.

In considering safeguards for linguistic and cultural rights, it is important that the guarantees should apply equally to both languages. On the basis of present population patterns it seems highly likely that Francophones would at first be in a numerical minority in a Capital Territory, no matter what boundaries were established. Nevertheless, given the régime of full equality essential for the capital area, it is not impossible that in the long run the linguistic balance in the capital might change. If this happened, it would be important for Anglophones to have at their disposal the same guarantees that are proposed in the shorter run for Francophones.

Above all, the provision of firm linguistic guarantees in the Capital Territory should diminish the psychological effects of "minorization"—the feelings of defensiveness and insecurity that tend to develop within a group in a situation where their own cultural values are under pressure from those of a more numerous or more powerful group. If Francophones in the capital can be made to feel that they are in the

fullest sense equal partners with their Anglophone neighbours in the life of the capital and in conducting the affairs of the federal state, this would have a powerful effect not only in the Capital Territory itself but throughout French-speaking Canada.

D. Regional Development

Chapter V touched on the imbalance between the Quebec and Ontario sectors of the capital, and between Francophones and Anglophones within each sector, and indicated some of the remedies that might be initiated at once to reduce these imbalances. In a Capital Territory under a single integrated jurisdiction there would be possibilities for a more complete attainment of equal opportunities between Francophones and Anglophones. This aim should be pursued not for the benefit of the Capital Territory alone but also to demonstrate the possibilities of equal partnership to the whole of Canada.

A policy to give effect to this concept of partnership should be embodied in a formal statement of principle. In this connection one of the constitutional provisions of Finland is relevant. It reads: "The State shall provide for the intellectual and economic needs of the Finnish-speaking and the Swedish-speaking populations upon a similar basis."¹ The effect of this broad declaration of principle is not seen in any formal machinery for its implementation. There is no specific legislation and no particular institution designed to implement it. This constitutional clause is simply a general principle that may be appealed to if one cultural group considers itself disadvantaged when political decisions are being made.²

The constitutional arrangements for a Canadian Capital Territory should include some similar declaration. As in Finland, such a declaration of principle would have no specific mechanism for its enforcement. However, it would serve as a constant reminder of the earlier agreement to develop a capital based upon the principle of equal partnership.

¹ For the full text of article 14, in which this clause occurs, see *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, footnote to §218.

² In this connection it should be remembered that the Swedish-speaking population of Finland accounts for only 7 per cent of the total.

The consequences of such a declaration would be reflected in various aspects of public policy that might evolve with respect to the planning and development of the Capital Territory. Chapter V indicated some of the aspects of that development that might be relevant during the short run: roads, bridges, and transit systems; the location of future federal buildings; the distribution of federal grant and tax payments to the municipalities of the capital area. As was made clear in that chapter, considerable changes are possible in the short run. However, for the longer-run development of policy in the capital area, the adoption of a formal statement of principle as a basis and inspiration for future development could have a powerful effect.

There remains for consideration the allocation of the costs involved in pursuing the economic and social development of the new Capital Territory. While the measures to promote equal partnership would doubtless have some direct impact on the general prosperity of the capital area, a primary reason for undertaking them is that their benefits would be Canada-wide. For this reason the federal government, and not the regional government, should be prepared to meet the bulk of the costs.

E. Appropriate Financial Arrangements

One recurring problem of governing *any* capital city is how to maintain an equitable balance between the legitimate interests of the local population and the equally legitimate concern of the country as a whole that the capital should appropriately reflect national aspirations and values. The same problem recurs in another form in the financial field. Here, too, there must be an appropriate distribution of financial burdens and control between the local residents and the population of the entire country. Though the problem is universal, its resolution is more difficult in federal states.

One of the arguments sometimes raised against any kind of "federal district" is the danger of fiscal dependency upon a powerful and possibly arbitrary federal government. In the United States, the budgetary dependence of the District of Columbia upon the unpredictable decisions of congressional committees has given considerable

substance to this objection. Although the argument as applied to Canada may arise from a simple fear of change to something new and unknown, or to suspicions of higher taxes, it is important to recognize that underlying these attitudes is a real problem in intergovernmental financial relations.

If both local and federal interests are to find their due expression in the capital, each must have appropriate areas of financial autonomy. This purpose could best be served in a future Capital Territory by the establishment of clearly defined fiscal responsibilities and corresponding revenue sources for each level of government in the Territory. In this respect the position of the new territorial government might be rather similar to that of a province.

To illustrate the point more specifically, both the municipal government and the territorial government might have their respective sources of tax and other revenues, such as property taxes, gasoline taxes, sales taxes, and so on. These would be levied, at levels determined by the elected representatives of the governments concerned, for the carrying out of municipal and territorial programmes. Unlike the present system for the two provincial sectors of the capital area, the taxes levied by the territorial government would be uniform throughout the Capital Territory. The territorial government would receive certain federal transfer payments, on a similar basis to those of provincial governments, as its share of certain shared-cost programmes in the health care, welfare, or educational fields. In all these respects, the analogy with a province would be close.

In the federal field, the situation is somewhat different, for the federal government would have two distinct roles. First, it would provide to residents of the capital the same range of services and collect the same taxes as it does from residents of the provinces and territories. Further, because of its considerable physical presence in the capital area, it would require municipal services for which it would pay on the same scale as a private individual or corporation. The federal government should not enjoy a more privileged position with respect to payment for services to its buildings and its employees than that of a business firm or a private ratepayer. Making this point, however, does not preclude a revision of

the municipal grant structures in the capital area along the lines discussed in Chapter V, so as to bring federal grants into closer alignment with the actual incidence of costs for educational and municipal services.

The other role of the federal government, however, would be more distinctive. A federal capital should reflect both in its physical setting and in its linguistic and cultural image the values of contemporary Canada. This is a concern of Canada as a whole. Therefore the specific costs of developing a Capital Territory worthy in both a physical and a cultural sense to be the capital of Canada should be assumed wholly by the federal government. With respect to physical development, this principle is already substantially recognized in the work of the National Capital Commission. With respect to measures promoting equal partnership in the capital in a linguistic or cultural sense, the responsibility has not yet been fully assumed by any level of government. In a Capital Territory, the full financial costs of such measures, including the cost of overcoming the present unbalanced pattern of development of the area, could be undertaken by the federal government.

At this stage it is not easy to say what kind of agency should carry out this special federal role in the development of an appropriate capital for Canada. It is not even clear whether one agency should be responsible for both physical and cultural development, or whether responsibilities should be divided among two or even more agencies according to the type of measure concerned. However, two things do stand out clearly: first, there is a clear policy objective to be pursued from the standpoint of Canada as a whole, and a corresponding federal financial responsibility for meeting the costs; second, in a Capital Territory of the sort in view here, even this special federal role of capital development will require co-operation between federal authorities and the elected representatives of the territorial government, because federal and local objectives must be co-ordinated and reconciled.

In the last analysis, no matter what arrangements are adopted for a Capital Territory, one cannot expect to eliminate all sources of friction in local-federal financial relations. Nevertheless, these frictions might be minimized if the roles

and objectives of the different levels of government were clearly defined and each level possessed independent revenue sources appropriate to its responsibilities.

F. Education

Any satisfactory educational arrangements for a Capital Territory would have to fulfil three criteria. First, they would provide parallel, substantially independent educational systems for Francophones and Anglophones, neither one of them being in any sense subordinate to the other. Second, both these systems would provide for transfers of pupils into or out of the Capital Territory with minimum difficulty, in order not to impede the mobility of those who work—or who may wish to work—in the capital area. Finally they would be adapted to the special needs of an environment where two official languages are in widespread use, by giving special attention, among other things, to teaching the second official language.

In terms of structures, two separate educational systems would be envisaged, one for Francophones and the other for Anglophones, in the fields of elementary and secondary education. Each system would operate substantially independently of the other in terms of administration, curriculum planning, and teacher training, and each would serve a constituency of students on both sides of the Ottawa River. In one sense, these parallel independent structures would mark a departure from the discussion in Book II. There it was emphasized that minority-language schools should *not* be divorced in administrative or financial terms from the schools of the majority in the province concerned.¹ In a Capital Territory, where neither linguistic group would be in a minority status, relations with other educational jurisdictions outside the capital may prove more important than the interaction of the two systems within the Capital Territory.

Specifically, it seems likely that the French-language educational system in the capital would develop close ties on many different questions with the educational system of Quebec, because the latter is the largest and the most dynamic

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, §§ 425-6.

French-language system in North America. Links of this kind would facilitate the most frequently encountered transfers of Francophone students—those between Quebec centres and the federal capital. They would also facilitate admission to Quebec's French-language universities, thus widening the options open to Francophone children in the capital. The Anglophone educational system would no doubt work in close conjunction with the Ontario educational system, but since transfers of Anglophone students to and from other provinces are also numerous, educational planning might take into account the curricula of the other predominantly Anglophone provinces as well. In brief, the two educational systems in the capital must necessarily mesh with the corresponding majority-language systems in the other provinces if the basic requirement of population mobility is to be met.

In terms of size, both educational systems would be large enough to be viable. The Francophone system would probably account for about 40 to 45 per cent of the children in the schools, depending on territorial boundaries and certain other factors. Both systems could easily manage their own teacher-training institutions, although it is to be expected that accreditation agreements with the provinces would supplement local programmes. They would even be large enough to do their own research on the special educational problems and needs of the capital area, while on more general issues they would undoubtedly rely on educational research undertaken elsewhere.

In a capital symbolizing the equality of the two official-language groups, there ought to be a fundamental change in the principles of financing education. Hitherto, the various communities—religious communities in this case—have each been responsible for financing their own school systems, with the result that economic disparities have been directly reflected in disparities in educational facilities, differential tax rates for school purposes, and differences in the salary levels of teachers. All these disparities should disappear. Two basic principles should apply in the financing of education in a Capital Territory: the tax burden on the ratepayer should be identical for both school systems, and the average revenue per pupil for each educational level should be the same in both school systems.

On the means of equalization there is clearly room for negotiation, but the principles themselves are central to the whole concept of equal partnership in the capital.

In any restructuring of school systems in a Capital Territory, the issue of confessionality is bound to arise. This delicate issue has already been discussed at some length in Book II.¹ There it was made clear that, without prejudging the question of whether schools should be confessional or non-confessional, the needs of the linguistic communities should receive prior consideration. In the context of a Capital Territory this means that the confessional issue ought to be considered within the context of French- and English-language educational structures respectively.

Until recently, practically all French-language education in the capital area has fallen within a confessional framework. Therefore, some element of confessionality would probably continue under any new structure, although one would hope that some arrangements might be made to accommodate the very small number of non-Roman Catholic, Francophone families who are too few in numbers to constitute a separate educational stream. Among the Anglophones, there would be a considerable minority of Roman Catholics—comprising perhaps a third of the Anglophone population—who have had confessional schools in the past and who might wish to continue them in a new structure. At the same time, these schools have laboured under various difficulties in the past, and there might be opposition to extending full public support through the secondary level, since this is not done now in the Ontario sector where most Anglophones live. The issue is obviously difficult. However, it ought to be resolved—in an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding of the minority position—within the framework of an English-language school system.

As mentioned earlier, each of the new educational systems would be able to adapt its curriculum in its own way to the special linguistic situation of the Capital Territory. Nowhere else in Canada would the two languages meet on such a basis of full formal equality. In these circumstances, it is to be expected that both systems would give rather special attention to the problems

¹[*Ibid.*,¹ §§ 408–21.

and methods of teaching the second official language. Even now in the capital area, local educational authorities in both the Ontario and the Quebec sectors depart from provincial norms in a number of ways, including earlier introduction of second-language instruction (in some municipalities at kindergarten level), experimental teaching of secondary-level subjects through the medium of the other official language, and short-term exchanges of Francophone and Anglophone pupils. The school systems of an officially bilingual Capital Territory could do much more in this direction, and the experience so gained would be of benefit not only in the capital but everywhere in Canada.

This is not to suggest that the French- and English-language school systems of the capital will approach second-language instruction with the same emphasis, or in the same way. For the time being, at any rate, the linguistic milieu of the capital area is predominantly English, and this influence is felt even in the Quebec sector. Francophone educators, confident that the milieu itself is a powerful aid to second-language learning, may prefer to give a higher priority to the correct teaching of the mother tongue, at least during the early grades. Most Anglophones derive less assistance from the present capital environment, and there is strong evidence that many English-speaking parents wish their children to become fluent in French through sufficient exposure to it at an early age.¹

The very strength of this motivation to become bilingual may raise a further problem. Of the 13,800 children in Ottawa French-language separate schools in 1968-9, almost 3,000 came from families where English was the main language used at home, and this has given rise to concern among Francophone parents that an influx of these proportions may retard the progress of children who are more fluent in French and may endanger the culture of the minority group. This problem has already been discussed in Book II. There it was recommended that parents of both the majority and the minority group should have the right to choose for their children between a majority-language school and minority-language school, but also that the linguistic and cultural

character of minority-language schools should be protected, where necessary, by limiting the numbers of majority-language pupils.²

In a Capital Territory, however, neither language would be in a minority status: how, then would this issue be resolved? As far as can be foreseen, there is likely to be continuing and even increasing pressure from Anglophone parents to enrol their children in French-language elementary schools; it seems quite likely that these schools—in some parts of the capital at least—will require measures to protect their linguistic character. On the other hand, there are obvious advantages in having an increased proportion of the capital area population capable of handling both official languages with ease. All of this suggests that in a Capital Territory special arrangements should be made wherever necessary to enable any parents who so choose to have their children educated in the official language of their choice, even if this language is not the normal language of the home.

G. Legal Systems and the Administration of Justice

One further question of some difficulty for a Capital Territory arises from the differences between the existing legal systems of the two sectors. These differences arise not merely from the fact that Ontario and Quebec each have their own body of statute law, but also, and more fundamentally, because the private or civil law systems of the two provinces have different origins. That of Ontario is founded on the English common law, that of Quebec on French civil law. Of course, certain other fields of law, including the criminal law, are under federal competence and so apply to both sectors in the same way.

Despite these shared areas, the fundamental question remains: how could the civil-law and the common-law systems be reconciled in a Capital Territory? It would be unreasonable to expect either sector of the new Territory to give up its existing legal system. Each is too deeply rooted in the history and tradition of its respective

¹ A recent canvass of 6,300 English-speaking families by the Ottawa Separate School Board showed that 84 per cent wanted their children to become fluent in French by the end of Grade VIII, and that 77 per cent favoured a more intensive programme of instruction in French of one hour a day or more. *Ottawa Citizen*, February 11, 1969.

² *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, §§ 405,407.

sector to be surrendered lightly. Each may be said to represent a basic expression of the culture of its area. Nor is it realistic to expect the two traditions to fuse or join together, at least for the foreseeable future. The differences both in content and in thought patterns seem too great. Accordingly it would be preferable for each sector of a Capital Territory to retain its existing legal system. Indeed, this might well be one of the provisions that could be safeguarded by an entrenched constitutional guarantee. In this one respect, a continuing difference would exist between the two geographic sectors of a Capital Territory.

Thus, at the outset, the Ontario portions of a Capital Territory would be subject to relevant Ontario law and the Quebec portion to relevant Quebec law in effect at that date. Both systems would be modified by ordinances or enactments of the territorial government as the systems evolved.¹ In certain areas, the territorial government would be making two kinds of law, one for each sector, as circumstances required. There is no particular juridical difficulty in this, and indeed, as one historical precedent, the Parliament of the Province of Canada did so on a considerably larger scale for the same two legal systems between 1840 and 1867. Of course criminal law, and indeed all federal laws of general application, would be applied in the normal way in both sectors, just as in a province.

Under these arrangements, one difficulty would arise, but it would be of a transitional nature. The Ontario statutes and law reports are available only in English, so that at the outset the Ontario sector's laws would be available only in that language. However, the introduction of written pleadings and other procedures in the French language, the appearance of judgements in that language, and the bilingual version of all "new" law in the form of ordinances, would eventually transform the Ontario sector's law into

an effective bilingual instrument. Quebec law is bilingual already.

The structure of the courts would reflect the parallel legal systems. The lower levels of courts having jurisdiction over civil cases—that is, the levels that would correspond to the existing courts of original jurisdiction in each sector—would operate according to the legal system applicable to their sector. Above these courts there would be a common appeal court exercising jurisdiction over the entire Territory. Where appropriate it would sit in separate civil-law and common-law panels, or in any case be structured so that the appeals were decided by judges thoroughly grounded in the legal tradition concerned.²

H. Conclusion

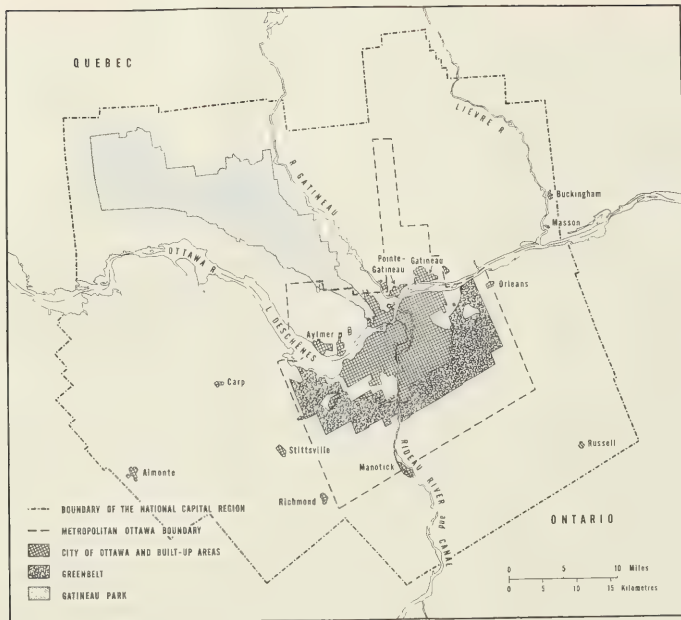
The preceding pages have touched briefly and tentatively on some of the institutional arrangements that might exist in a future Capital Territory. These reflections concern primarily the problems that have been central to the Commission's terms of reference and to its research on the capital. To make the picture complete they must be set beside all the other issues facing the capital region: economic growth, transportation, pollution control, and so on.

From the Commission's vantage point, the most persuasive argument for a Capital Territory is that it would open the way to the eventual attainment of complete linguistic equality. In a legal and institutional sense, there could be full equality of linguistic rights. With a positive policy of regional development, there could be a reduction of the sectional economic disparities that have characterized the capital area in the past. In time, these measures could produce a psychological climate of equality.

¹ The Australian Commonwealth Territory at Canberra began in a similar way, using the state law of New South Wales until this was gradually replaced by enactments made specifically for the Territory.

² One brief to the R.C.B. & B., submitted by J. H. MacDonald, an Ottawa barrister, suggested that the existing Exchequer Court of Canada might be assigned a jurisdiction of this kind.

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION



1. Book VI, dealing with Vountary Associations in Canada, is an integral part of the series of Books constituting the *Report* of the Commission's inquiry into the existing situation between the two official-language groups. However, because of the nature of the subject, it does depart from the style and format of preceding Books, notably in the absence of recommendations. Voluntary organizations exist in Canada in great numbers and in a wide variety of forms, and they cannot be categorized in such a way as to permit us to draw precise conclusions and make recommendations in the usual style of Royal Commission reports. But this does not diminish their importance as social institutions influencing the political situation and the decisions Canadians will take in respect to future cultural relations. In accordance with our terms of reference, which instructed us "to report on the role of public and private organizations...in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country,"¹ we have included this study of voluntary associations in our *Report*. We considered that the most effective presentation of this Book of our *Report* was by analysis of the problems which came to light during the inquiry, and a description of the various solutions devised to meet them, as illustrated by the experiences of certain voluntary associations. From these we have drawn some general conclusions, but the whole Book should be considered primarily as a guide to Canadians engaged in the field of voluntary action who are anxious to contribute positively to the resolution of some of the problems of inter-cultural relations.

¹ The terms of reference are given in full in Appendix I.

Field of our study

2. It was impossible to undertake a complete survey of all voluntary associations, but our information has been gathered from a wide variety of sources. There are few established sources of documentation in this area, and our research programme represents the first significant effort in this field in Canada. Detailed studies were undertaken of more than 20 associations whose objectives can be classified according to the following fields of interest: recreational and athletic activities of young people; educational, business, political, professional, farm, and labour union interests; and those concerned with community improvement and local government. Whenever a country-wide association contained a Francophone or Quebec section, or when an interest was pursued by an independent French-speaking association as well as an English-speaking one, a study was conducted of each as well as of the relations between them.

3. This Book makes very little mention of three important categories of voluntary associations: labour unions, business associations, and political parties. We are aware of the fundamental role that these associations play in the democratic process, and of their influence on the relations between the two linguistic communities. Political parties particularly perform a special role since they are voluntary associations in some of their aspects, and yet they usually also have a clearly expressed and understood aim of gaining political power and, through it, influence over the state. However, we were not able to do sufficient research in these areas to allow us to reach firm conclusions. Our purpose, moreover, was not to study the functioning of voluntary associations in society in a general way, but to examine the relations between Francophones and Anglophones in the field of voluntary organization. We therefore selected for study those associations which provided the most practical accessibility and were the most useful for purposes of illustration. A number of our research studies on a variety of aspects of bilingualism and biculturalism have also provided important sources of knowledge, even though they did not specifically deal with voluntary associations. Some studies were undertaken with this Book in mind and it is on these,¹ as well as on our regional meetings, public hearings, and the briefs presented to the Commission, that we have drawn most heavily in preparing these pages.

Sources of
our information

4. During the public hearings, we heard many relevant views and were told of many pertinent experiences, and a wealth of material was made available to us by voluntary associations who took the trouble to submit briefs or who communicated with us in other ways. These were

¹ For a complete list of our studies, see *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, Appendix V.

living sources of information which complemented the formal studies. A number of associations generously responded to our researchers' invitation to discuss with their leaders and officers the practices, policies, and issues arising out of Canada's cultural heterogeneity; they have also provided an impressive amount of information in the form of association literature, official records, correspondence, and, most important, personal recollections. Much of this information was, naturally, made available in confidence on the understanding that it would be used with sufficient discretion to protect any particular associations or individuals from inconvenience and from odious and embarrassing publicity. This Book is not concerned with any given association but with the way in which the voluntary associations as a whole affect the lives of the two communities and the relations between them. From these points of view one can generalize about experiences of Canadian Francophones and Anglophones with and in voluntary associations, without considering any specific association in detail.

5. We have sometimes identified associations by name in order to illustrate a general point, particularly when a rather abstract argument can thus be made more concrete and specific. In such instances the example was chosen because of its illustrative qualities and not necessarily because the association mentioned is considered to be particularly important or because we feel that it merits special praise or blame. Some associations are cited more than once as examples, either because their briefs or presentations to our hearings were particularly relevant to this Book or because our researchers have found it useful to refer to them fairly frequently in their studies.

6. Our terms of reference also direct our attention to "the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada," and Book IV of our *Report* is devoted to this part of our mandate. Although some of the more general descriptive material will apply to voluntary associations discussed in Book IV, in the present text we are concentrating on the Anglophones and Francophones, regardless of their ethnic origin. It is generally understood that most Canadians whose ancestors are neither English nor French belong to one of our two major linguistic communities. We have therefore excluded the special consideration of voluntary associations catering to the *ethnic* interests of Canada's minorities, even those serving Canadians of British or French origin, such as the Sons of England and the Société Saint-Jean Baptiste. These organizations fall outside our immediate concern.

7. This Book generalizes about a certain number of Canadian voluntary associations, and we must emphasize the fact that exceptions exist to virtually any one of the many generalizations made. Moreover,

Ethnic associations
not included

Conclusions
generally valid

voluntary associations are constantly evolving, and many have changed significantly since the material for this Book was compiled, including, probably, some of those organizations we have mentioned. The overall picture nevertheless describes what we observed *on the whole*, and we feel confident that such changes as may have taken place have not invalidated our conclusions.

Equal partnership
in associations

8. Since satisfactory relations between Canada's two language groups can be achieved only when conditions of equality prevail between them, and since voluntary associations often affect the occupational, personal, and civic competence of their members, it follows that if the Canadian Confederation is to be developed on "the basis of an equal partnership," the benefits Canadians derive from belonging to voluntary associations must be roughly equal between Francophones and Anglophones. If members of each cultural group are to benefit to a like degree from belonging to an organization such as a voluntary association, the costs in terms of time, effort, and money must be broadly comparable and cannot consistently favour one of the two language groups.

9. Voluntary associations are, by definition, private organizations catering to an enormous variety of interests of their members. In a free society they must be allowed to function with a very high degree of freedom. Under these conditions it is particularly important that their members and leaders realize that the policies and actions of their associations nevertheless vitally affect the society of which they are a part. More specifically, in Canada they should be aware of the fact that unequal opportunities for participating in their associations directly affect the relations between the members of the country's two official-language groups as well as their relative status. If both are to have the potential to contribute to and participate fully in the life of Canada, they must be able to develop their respective talents and skills to a comparable degree, and to gain from the same experiences; unequal access to the benefits offered by voluntary associations prevents them from doing so.

10. Until now Canadians have not had enough information about the costs and benefits of equal partnership, and about the conditions under which it can be attained, to decide whether it is a goal they should pursue. This decision will be made by them through their political parties and governments. It is our task to determine to what extent equal opportunities for the two official-language groups now exist and to suggest how a greater degree of equality might be achieved.¹

¹ See *ibid.*, General Introduction, § 64.

11. In this Book we present some of the experiences of Francophone and Anglophone Canadians in voluntary associations. Our objective is to describe and analyze the nature and basis of the relations which have generally developed between the two cultural groups in their associational contacts and to show how they have met the problems they have encountered. A description and analysis of this sort is particularly important since in the field of voluntary action it is impossible to address extensive recommendations to governments. The most fruitful contribution of a Book such as this is to present some of the facts required for an informed decision about whether Canadians wish to adopt the goal of creating a country based on the equal partnership of the two linguistic societies. If a decision is made to pursue this goal, this Book may become a useful handbook for those concerned with realizing this objective.

Description
and analysis

12. Our descriptions and analyses of relations between the two main cultural groups in Canadian voluntary associations provide a rich storehouse of experiences and serve to indicate where tension points have arisen between Francophone and Anglophone Canadians and how they have been dealt with. This Book should help members of voluntary associations interested in assuring that the benefits of membership are enjoyed equally by both official-language groups, in forestalling or containing crises, and in promoting better cultural relations, to draw on the experiences of others. But we would like to point out that the text as a whole must be considered, and not just the conclusions. We consider our principal task here to be exposing the problems and examining various options which have been used to deal with them. Those interested will, consequently, be able to learn from the successes, and to avoid repeating the errors, of others while participating in voluntary associations in a culturally mixed society. We hope that they will also more fully realize the degree and manner in which voluntary associations affect relations between cultural groups outside and beyond their own internal concerns.

13. If Canadians want to develop the Canadian Confederation on a basis of equal partnership, a large number of them will have to become aware of the way in which much of what they do has important, inescapable consequences on the relations prevailing between members of the country's two official-language groups. A growing number of Canadians will have to wish to act in response to this increased awareness—they will have to be prepared to pay the price for equal partnership in their individual, group, and public lives. Voluntary associations will have to play an important role in this process.

A. Types of Associations and the Roles of the Two Groups

14. In the area of voluntary associations, equal partnership can develop only when each of the two linguistic groups has an equal opportunity to develop freely the associational structures suitable to its own society, and to participate with equal benefit in whatever joint activities are undertaken. We are therefore interested in exploring how they do and can contribute to the development and flourishing of each of Canada's two communities and their role in establishing adequate relations between them.

15. These two objectives, while linked, are by no means automatically attained by policies which may further either one. For instance, if all Francophone members of a given association learn English, this may promote better communications, and thus in one sense better relations among its members but, by imposing a special burden on only one of the cultural groups, it would certainly not bring about an equal partnership. The minimal condition under which this could be achieved would require that members of *both* language groups invest some of their resources in learning the other's language or that each bear an equal share of the burden of not being able to operate in it.

16. On the other hand, practices designed to bring about a more equal participation (for example, the preparation of an organization's documents in both languages) may be distasteful to one group because it could lead to a general increase in membership fees. This might create hostility and so result in the deterioration of cultural relations.

17. In voluntary associations, as elsewhere, the two objectives of harmony and equality are inseparable, although not always realizable through the same methods. During much of this country's history,

Interrelation
of the two
objectives

Harmony or
equality

many English-speaking Canadians believed that so long as an amicable rapport existed between Francophones and Anglophones, wherever and whenever they had contact with each other, the relationship between them was satisfactory. Harmony, rather than equality, was held to be the desirable keystone of the relationship. And for a long time such harmony was thought to be broadly attainable without equality. The central feature of the crisis to which we referred in our *Preliminary Report* is precisely that large and influential numbers of Francophones, as well as Anglophones familiar with the problems of our cultural relations, no longer can accept harmony as the main characteristic of the partnership: equality has become more important and is one of the conditions which must be met if harmony is to prevail.

18. The far-reaching changes necessary for the attainment of equality can probably not be brought about without the respective understanding by Francophones and Anglophones of each other's position and needs. This awareness of the other group's requirements and the willingness to act on it cannot materialize without both maintaining a sympathetic interest in each other's affairs. Clearly, understanding will be more likely to grow and develop to the degree that Francophones and Anglophones seize the opportunities offered by their co-existence in Canada to work together on mutually acceptable projects or for mutually acceptable ends. For that reason, the ultimate rewards of membership in voluntary associations for both Francophones and Anglophones will probably be greater when they can unite in joint association. In order for such association to yield its full benefit, however, both groups must be uninhibited and be equally free to express their cultural particularities. In the long run, cultural relations will be satisfactory only if the two official-language groups have equal access to the opportunities and responsibilities offered by Canada, and if the relations between them are sufficiently harmonious to make both wish to make the effort towards successful co-operation. In this Book we explore the ways in which this principle of equal partnership may be applied in and through voluntary associations; we examine the factors which have in the past hindered the satisfactory collaboration of Anglophones and Francophones in voluntary associations and we point to possibilities for more fruitful association in the future.

What we mean by
voluntary
associations

19. In earlier Books of our *Report* we have dealt with public and some private organizations, particularly economic ones, but we have so far not discussed the voluntary associations. There are many thousands of such organizations in Canada, ranging from small and private groupings of people who have established an organization to pursue a common interest—for example, the tasting of different and exotic cheeses—to such large and powerful organizations as political

parties, labour unions, and Chambers of Commerce, which are essentially public bodies exercising considerable influence on the life of the whole country. The word “voluntary” is used rather loosely here, since it is not always easy to define the degree of choice left to an individual belonging to a given association. This is so particularly with such important organizations as professional associations or labour unions, where withdrawal or failure to join may be accompanied by serious social and economic penalties.

20. We do not attempt to distinguish sharply between the various types of voluntary associations. There are many kinds of organizations, and society provides varying degrees of inducements and pressures for belonging to them. The characteristics identifying the organizations examined in this Book are that members can withdraw from them if they really wish to do so, that they are not linked *directly* to the making of a living by their members, in the sense that a business firm is linked to the way its employees make a living, and that they are to a large degree independent of the state. These characteristics are not always attained fully, but the associations discussed in this Book very largely do display them; it is precisely these characteristics which distinguish them from businesses, industries, or governmental enterprises. From these points of view one can generalize about experiences of Francophones and Anglophones with and in voluntary associations, without considering any specific association in detail.

B. The Role of Voluntary Associations in Society

21. It is difficult to estimate accurately the proportion of the population belonging to voluntary associations. Studies conducted in the United States, where the research done on voluntary associations has reached the highest level in the western world, suggest that anywhere from one- to two-thirds of the adult population belong. A precise estimate is difficult to achieve, primarily because each study tends to use a different definition of what is to be included in the term “voluntary associations.” Probably at least half of the adult population of the United States belongs to voluntary associations, if labour unions are included and churches, but not associations linked to them, are excluded.

22. One important fact about membership in the United States also applies to Canada: it is not spread evenly among the population. Urban areas support a more vigorous associational life than do rural ones, with small- and medium-sized towns and cities having a higher proportion of members than the largest metropolitan centres. Those

Membership in
voluntary
associations

with a higher level of formal education are more likely to be association members than people who have fewer years of schooling. People with middle and higher incomes are more likely to become members of associations than people with lower incomes.¹

Extent of
participation
and influence

23. Studies of American voluntary associations show that only a relatively small proportion of association members participate very actively in the affairs of the association; these activists also tend to be among the better-educated, more well-to-do members of society. Therefore, one must conclude that, while voluntary associations play an important part in contemporary life and while they are a means through which individuals can cope with some of the problems posed by mass society, they are not, strictly speaking, a mass phenomenon. Their membership and their control is to some extent limited to the generally more favoured groups within the population.

24. However, it is precisely these groups which are particularly influential in the making of many of the important decisions affecting all aspects of contemporary society. The most active and vigorous members of voluntary associations are often leading members of other institutions in society, so their influence far exceeds their number. The fact that about half of the adult population does not belong to voluntary associations—and that only a minority of those who do are very active in them—does not diminish their considerable importance in the post-industrial society.

The situation
in Canada

25. Survey data on membership in voluntary associations in Canada are rather inconclusive. The proportion of Canadians belonging to one or more voluntary associations seems to be similar to that of the United States. There is some indication that proportionately fewer Francophone than Anglophone Canadians belong to voluntary associations, but if indeed there is a difference, it is small. Comparisons are difficult to make because of the impossibility of comparing certain kinds of organizations. The place of a parish-based association in rural Quebec, for example, introduces an element for which there are few equivalents elsewhere in the country. Data obtained from country-wide surveys which asked questions about membership in voluntary associations² show that there are some differences in the degree to which members of the two linguistic groups belong to various *types* of organization, but these differences are not great. On the whole, Francophone Canadians hold proportionately fewer offices than Anglophones in common or

¹ This summary is based on a large number of American studies. They are listed in the bibliography attached to J. Meisel and V. Lemieux, "Ethnic Relations in Canadian Voluntary Associations," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

² The Social Research Group, "A Study of Interethnic Relations in Canada," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

“mixed” associations.¹ A question in our survey sought to discover whether Canadians preferred to belong to ethnically “mixed” or “pure” associations. Answers here indicated a noticeable difference between Anglophones and Francophones: a significantly larger proportion of the latter preferred to belong to associations made up solely of members of their own group.

26. There are, of course, a number of ways in which this important difference can be explained, but it is perhaps most plausible to interpret it as reflecting the experiences of large numbers of Francophones; they have apparently found joint or common voluntary associations only conditionally attractive, or distinctly less appealing than those composed only of members of their own group.

27. The number and general importance of voluntary associations in liberal democratic states has increased with the industrialization of society and the increasing specialization of its functions. One scholar who has made a special study of voluntary action in the United States has suggested that the club and association have tended to become in the non-economic life of society what the corporation is to its economic life.² The influence of voluntary associations is evident at two levels which, although related, are clearly separate. The associations perform useful services for their members; these are the *internal* functions. At the same time they also have considerable effect on the larger society around them; these effects are the result of the *external* functions of voluntary associations.

Voluntary
associations
in contemporary
society

28. Students of contemporary society generally agree that voluntary associations enable individuals to express and satisfy their interests—functions formerly performed almost exclusively by the family, churches, and the immediate community. As the interests of individuals and groups have become more diversified and complex, they have been assumed by specialized organizations, including voluntary associations. Therefore, in a sense, the voluntary association has been an agency facilitating the individual’s adjustment to an almost bewilderingly varied and fast-changing physical and social environment. It has become an intermediary between himself and other individuals and also the state. The voluntary association is therefore an important agency enabling the individual to lead a satisfactory personal life and, by combining with others with the same interest, to maximize his effec-

What associations
do for their
members

¹ Associations uniting Francophone and Anglophone members in one joint association will be referred to as “common” associations throughout this Book. When two distinct associations, usually unilingual, operate in basically the same field of interest, they will be referred to as “parallel” associations. The latter may or may not have formal links with one another.

² Herbert Goldhammer, “Voluntary Associations in the United States,” in P. K. Hatt and A. J. Reiss Jr. (Eds.), *Cities and Society: The Revised Reader in Urban Sociology* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957).

tiveness in influencing decisions affecting his community, in both the public and the private spheres. There are now few educational, recreational, economic, or ideological interests of individuals which are not furthered and catered to by at least one appropriate voluntary association.

29. Voluntary associations offer members several kinds of opportunities. Some of these are related to the main purposes for which the association exists and others can be quite incidental, although equally important. In the first place, associations enable their members to pursue the interest for which the association exists: the opportunity to take part in sports and, presumably, to become as expert as possible; the opportunity to be a better doctor and to make the most out of one's career in medicine; the opportunity to have better working conditions and to be treated fairly by employers; or the opportunity to enjoy the companionship of the other members at weekly dinners. Most associations, however, serve their members at more than one level. An association for the improvement of the members' occupational or recreational skills may also afford them opportunities for social pleasures, and at the same time give some members increased confidence in their own capacities to cope with everyday human problems.

Voluntary
associations
and the
community

30. These are only some of the internal functions performed by associations, but they are the ones particularly relevant to the relations between Canada's two main linguistic groups. In discussing the external functions, we apply the same process of selection: the influence of voluntary associations on public opinion, divisive conflict, and political decisions is examined, not because these are the only areas in which voluntary associations affect society but because they are related more closely than others to our terms of reference.

Public opinion

31. One external function of voluntary associations is that they help people to make up their minds about a large variety of public issues. Most citizens do not have the interest, time, or skill to analyze the nature of problems confronting their society and to weigh the pros and cons of a number of conflicting solutions. Nevertheless, many people have opinions which affect the way in which these problems are resolved. The process through which they arrive at these opinions is a very complex one in which an individual's upbringing and background, the mass media, friends and workmates, and other factors play a role. Among these other factors, voluntary associations are particularly important; they make it easier for many individuals to relate public issues to their own interests and activities. Within voluntary associations, individuals with shared interests examine and discuss developments in the world around them, often with the assistance of specialists. Associations therefore help organize opinion by enabling some of the

groups making up the public to adopt a reasonably firm and coherent view on some of the issues of the day.

32. Voluntary associations are sometimes also responsible for settling conflicts before they grow so intense as to require the intervention of a public body. Differences of opinion are to be expected; they are not uncommon under the present conditions of readjustment and reappraisal in Canada,¹ and many of these can be and *are being* resolved within voluntary associations before they reach more unmanageable proportions and become political issues. For example, potential conflict between the Quebec government and Ottawa over certain aspects of Eskimo life may be averted by the joint programme of the Co-operative Union of Canada and the Conseil canadien de la coopération with respect to Eskimo co-operative societies. Controversies over the granting of rights to individuals to practise their professions are another example: provincially based professional associations with licensing powers may make arrangements for Canadians with different educational and cultural backgrounds, but belonging to sister associations, to enjoy reciprocal rights to practise. These arrangements may be given official sanction by provincial governments, which then do not have to assess and certify educational institutions in provinces other than their own.

Resolving
conflicts

33. A third area in which voluntary associations exert influence on the community is linked to the two we have already mentioned: it concerns their general power in democratic societies. Social and political systems like those of Canada are sometimes called pluralist because there are many groups within them, each exerting a certain amount of power on the decisions made by the various levels of governments. Voluntary associations are the main organized manifestation of these groups and by virtue of being organized can exert considerable influence on the public, politicians, and officials. They mediate between the individual and the state, on the one hand helping to organize a variety of individual views into stable patterns, and on the other hand presenting these views as effectively as possible to those who make the major public decisions.² Many associations supplement the functions of governments in conducting the business of the modern state.

Political
influence

¹ See *Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, § 133.

² Speaking of Bill 63—a Bill to promote the French language in Quebec—Prof. Léon Dion wrote in *Le Devoir*, Nov. 1, 1969:

"To the problem of the widening gulf between the elected and the electors, must be added the growing use of unofficial means of pressure on the government which have arisen since the beginning of the liberal era. In fact, liberal societies, apart from the political parties, have developed a special mechanism to enable citizens to demonstrate their displeasure with the government. This mechanism is the voluntary association, or interest group. Unfortunately the association has too often become an instrument for its directors to promote their own interests, rather than those of the members. Present efforts to put a stop to this oligarchical situation often result in the disbanding of the association itself. Thus, the great mass of students in Quebec no longer has associations to represent it, and the result is often a resort to the use of direct action as a pressure technique." See Appendix IV for original French.

34. Thus, the close relation between what happens in voluntary associations and the political realm manifests itself in two ways. First, the experiences of voluntary associations have considerable influence in the political realm. What they do frequently receives extensive publicity and their leaders are often active in politics. Second, governments often have a great interest in voluntary associations and may in fact play a part in their affairs, although they usually do so discreetly. Governments seek the advice of many associations, they support some of their activities financially, and they observe the way in which the associations cope with internal problems—such as the interrelations between linguistic groups—which also manifest themselves in the political realm.

C. Voluntary Associations and Relations between Linguistic Groups

35. In view of the important role which voluntary associations play in modern societies, it is not surprising that they also have a strong effect on the relations between linguistic groups. Here too it is useful to distinguish between internal and external functions of the informal associations and the consequences of these for their own members and those for society as a whole.

36. Viewed internally, joint voluntary associations provide a meeting ground for the two official-language groups, particularly for Canadians who do not live in areas where they come in contact with the other language and culture. For them, most opportunities for becoming personally acquainted with Canadians speaking the other language are either through the work world, if they belong to large, country-wide economic enterprises or—and this is our present concern—through participating in the activities of joint voluntary associations. Attitudes of members of one group towards the other group, the understanding of its interests and reactions, the realization of what it experiences when it engages in activities with Canadians speaking the other language—these are developed in the course of participating in voluntary associations. The way in which Francophones and Anglophones interact (or fail to interact) in voluntary associations is an element of considerable importance in the development of Canadian duality.

External
aspects

37. A study of voluntary associations reveals how their ideas and activities affect relations between cultural groups in a general way and influence the world around them. By undertaking certain activities and ignoring others, by focussing attention on some problems in preference to others, by directing the attention of their members and of the community at large towards certain concerns, voluntary associations are

able to influence conditions affecting the positions of each of Canada's linguistic communities—even if it is done unconsciously. A country-wide scholarship scheme advocated by a students' association may, for example, have profound consequences on the cultural development of both Francophones and Anglophones; the foreign policy recommendations of a group interested in the economic growth of under-developed areas may, by urging certain kinds of schemes, direct Canada's interest towards the English- rather than the French-speaking parts of the world. This may have unequal effects on the social, political, and even economic conditions of each of the country's two main linguistic groups.

38. In examining the information compiled for this Book, we have borne in mind both the internal and external aspects of voluntary associations and the relations between Francophones and Anglophones. However, we realize that to do justice to the external aspects would have compelled us to trace a virtually infinite network of subtle relations and hence to conduct studies of formidable scope and length. Thus we have emphasized the internal aspects. But members and leaders of voluntary associations who are concerned about relations between the two main cultural groups will need to ask themselves how their activities affect these relations in the broader sense.

Internal
aspects

D. The Response to the Existence of Two Linguistic Communities

39. Although practically all Canadian voluntary associations in some way determine the degree to which equal partnership between Francophones and Anglophones can be attained, most of them have not been primarily or even superficially concerned with the quality of these relations. However, the major interests they pursue, and the degree to which each of the two linguistic groups value these interests, may have a profound effect on the relations between the two groups. In order to maintain a sense of realism we must keep in mind the fact that the present preoccupation with the quality and scope of relations between the two official-language groups may focus on features of voluntary associations which have heretofore been of only incidental interest to the associations themselves. It is even possible that some members may feel that the conditions required for equal participation of both groups may impede the realization of the primary goals of the association. There is then a problem of reconciling two objectives: equal partnership and associational survival.

40. Associations can respond to the situation presented by a linguistically and culturally mixed society in various ways. Some have made strenuous efforts to define their objectives and to arrive at such

Equal partnership
and institutional
survival

ways of pursuing them that equal opportunities are open to both cultural groups. Other associations have ignored the existence in Canada of the two societies and have decided to pursue their objectives as if their members belonged to only one linguistic group. This decision does not, of course, avoid or solve the problem: on the contrary, it provides a clear-cut response to it, an attitude which considers the linguistic and cultural factors less important to the members than the other objectives of the association. It demands that the members of the official-language minority be prepared to accept the language and style of the majority. This may, for a time, provide an acceptable mode of functioning but it certainly does not afford equal access to the benefits of the association. Members of the minority group will be able to participate less, or less easily, and the benefits they derive from membership will obviously be fewer and less significant than those available to the majority.

Effects of
inequality

41. We shall enlarge on this situation later. Here we need merely note that such conditions of inequality are likely to lead to one of three general outcomes: the acceptance by the official-language minority of an inferior position in the association, with a consequent loss of contribution to the association; a reform of the association designed to achieve equality of opportunity for the members of each cultural group; or the decision of the minority to escape its inferior status by separating from the majority and forming its own unilingual association. This last is an entirely justifiable option and may, under certain circumstances, provide the best solution for both groups. However, it obviously reduces the opportunity for contact between the two societies unless special measures are taken to provide them.

Results of
an inferior
position

42. In countries like Canada, where two major cultural groups have a vigorous desire and will to preserve their identity, the official-language minority group is unlikely to accept a permanent position of inferiority.¹ This has profound consequences for voluntary associations. Some of the Francophone members may tolerate their disadvantaged position within an association if this has no other consequences than some occasional discomfort and an awareness that they are not getting quite as much use out of belonging as members of the majority. Some minority members may even be so accustomed to their status that they hardly notice it. But once they perceive that the degree to which they benefit from belonging affects their personal development, the way in which they perform their occupation, or the manner in which they function as citizens, their philosophical acceptance of the unequal distribution of benefits will quickly disappear. They will realize that, rela-

¹ See *Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, § 103.

tively speaking, their membership in such an association may be a crippling experience—one which they must escape if they are to participate on an equal footing with the official-language majority in the life of Canada.

43. The stakes different individuals have in the various organizations to which they belong vary considerably. One person may attach more importance to belonging to associations helping him to enjoy his leisure hours. Someone else may lean more heavily on the services he derives from educational associations. What holds true for individuals may also apply to groups, including linguistic groups. It follows that the degree to which an association contributes to the equal participation in Canadian life by Anglophones and Francophones can be determined only in relation to the goals each pursue through them. The consequences of voluntary associations failing to serve the two official-language groups equally well may be more serious in some organizations than in others, depending on the degree to which the organizations are capable of responding to the expectations of the two official-language groups and also on the expectations of the two groups in the various kinds of voluntary associations.

Different needs
of individuals
and groups

44. Voluntary associations are highly important phenomena in contemporary society. They are agencies through which members of each official-language group participate in virtually all phases of Canadian life; through them, intercultural contacts occur and members of different cultural groups develop their respective perceptions of one another, or work out compromises, when these are possible or desirable.

Summary

45. If equal partnership is to develop in Canada, then virtually all the social institutions will have to play their part, including, of course, voluntary associations. To do so, they will have to be highly sensitive to the demands of the two official-language groups, while at the same time remaining effective enough to continue attracting and holding supporters deriving benefits from their membership.

E. Obstacles and Opportunities

46. The focus of our examination of voluntary associations will be particularly on the factors which have provided opportunities for, or which have prevented, the equal development of the two linguistic societies, and on the tensions which have arisen between them, and the way in which the associations have responded to this situation. These internal features of cultural relations within voluntary associations are influenced by certain external conditions over which the voluntary associations have little or no control.

General focus

The numerical
proportion

47. It is inevitable that the relations between Francophone and Anglophone members of a common voluntary association will be substantially influenced by the respective numerical strength of each group. Generally, it can be assumed that a satisfactory partnership can be most easily attained if the numbers are roughly equal and is achieved with most difficulty when the numerical disparity is very wide.

The North
American
setting

48. Canada's physical proximity to the United States and that country's influence and position of leadership in many spheres of human endeavour exert an inescapable effect on the practices and activities of large numbers of associations. Many organizations which submitted briefs to the Commission referred to this situation and to the consequences it has had on the degree to which French and English have been used in some of their enterprises. The brief from the Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec, for example, expressed a view which was echoed by several other associations:

The Province of Quebec submits as the other provinces to the influence of the United States. This influence was particularly felt in the hospitals during and after the last war. A large number of doctors of the French language undertook post-graduate education in the United States. The great programmes of research in that country influenced medicine around the world and have a repercussion on the care given to patients in the field of prevention, medical care and rehabilitation. If the post-graduate education received by nurses in the United States is added to this, one might say that our hospitals, our nursing schools and our health services are organized according to the American model.¹

The origins
and history
of the
association

49. The place of origin—either in Canada or abroad, the dominant personalities among the founders and early leaders, and the major episodes in the evolution of an association are likely to have a powerful effect on the way in which the present members can arrange their affairs. A large proportion of Canadian associations have been derived from British or American models or have simply been "imported" from these countries. This has contributed to the difficulties experienced by some of them in presenting an equally attractive and hospitable image to both Francophone and Anglophone Canadians.

50. Although there is sometimes a tendency to exaggerate the continentalism or Americanism of some Canadian Anglophones, there is no doubt that, compared with their Francophone associates, they are generally more predisposed to think in North American terms. For a number of reasons their contacts with the United States tend to be more frequent. This sometimes prompts them to model their Canadian association after a similar organization in the United States, or at least to try to have their Canadian colleagues adopt some policy or practice

¹ Brief of the Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec to the R.C.B.&B.

which they have admired in the United States. Similarly, some Anglophone Canadians with close links to the United Kingdom have found it natural to preserve, or desirable to introduce, British patterns into Canadian associations. Many Canadian associations consequently appear to be replicas of similar organizations in the United States or Britain.

51. Finally, general conditions prevailing at any given time—quite independently of what is happening to any association—will affect what goes on inside it. This is so particularly with respect to political developments. Relations between Francophone and Anglophone members of voluntary associations have reflected the growth of French Canadian nationalism and the effects it has had on the political climate in Canada. General autonomist and independentist tendencies have in recent years had particularly sharp consequences for a number of voluntary associations and have revealed that earlier arrangements, which had seemed adequate, had in effect prevented the development of equal partnership. On the other hand, arrangements which could have been expected to meet the requirements of each cultural group proved unsatisfactory because of the intensity of general feelings between Francophone and Anglophone members of voluntary associations. Where there is no will to achieve effective collaboration, no arrangement can bring it about.

Political
conditions
in the country

52. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the prevailing political climate for voluntary associations. They are often microcosms of society and they therefore reflect the same tensions, anxieties, and aspirations as "the world outside." Since in many respects associations stand between individuals and the state, they are often influenced by government action directly and indirectly; consequently, they are highly sensitive to the political issues of the societies in which they exist. Because members of voluntary associations, and particularly those who participate most vigorously in them, are also politically active, voluntary associations are likely to be very responsive to the political forces surrounding them. Crises in the relations between the two official-language groups in voluntary associations have frequently coincided with, and could be linked to, prevailing political controversies between Ottawa and the government of Quebec. The influence of the past and of general conditions can be offset to a great extent by what is done by the voluntary associations themselves at the present time.

53. Voluntary associations cannot exist without providing incentives which will attract members and which will offset and exceed the costs of belonging. It is, of course, seldom if ever possible to recognize all the costs and benefits associated with membership: some benefits, for example, may simply consist of avoiding censure for *not* belonging,

Benefits and
costs of
membership

or they may reflect unsuspected psychological satisfactions quite unrelated to the purposes of the associations. The balancing of the costs and benefits which determine an individual's degree of commitment to an organization can never be made in the full knowledge of all relevant factors, but it is still of critical importance. Very few members of associations are aware that they do compare the relative advantages and disadvantages of belonging, but their being part of an organization and the degree to which they participate in it depend on some conscious or unconscious assessment of the kind sketched here. In the long run, the organization is likely to disappear if the outcome of this calculation of costs and benefits is negative for too many members.

54. Where there are two distinct groups—linguistic groups, for example—within a voluntary association, it is of course particularly important that members of both groups experience a broadly similar cost-benefit balance. In the absence of such a parity, the members of one group are less likely to wish to belong, and those who do are certainly going to participate less. Disparities in the cost-benefit balance sheet will therefore prevent the development of satisfactory relations between the two groups.

55. The cost-benefit concept implies that a subjective evaluation is possible, and that individuals are capable of assessing what they get out of belonging to an association. But this is only partly true; a person may be deprived of equal access to the benefits of belonging to an association without realizing his deprivation. For this reason, an uninvolved outsider may be better able than the participant himself to judge the benefits an individual is, or should be, deriving from an experience. In this Book we shall adopt the perspectives of both the participant and the observer.

The objectives
of an
association

56. While all the needs met or incentives provided by membership in any voluntary association are varied and often too subtle to be perceived even by many members, it is usually possible to identify the *major* incentives by looking at the association's aims or objectives. But the objectives tell us only part of what attracts and holds the membership. The way in which the objectives are pursued, the manner in which the association is organized, and the experiences members have as they participate in the activities or enjoy the services of their association are also important in this evaluation.

The aspects
of our
research

57. The major research study we commissioned in preparation for the drafting of this Book¹ distinguished between the following aspects of voluntary associations: objectives, activities, structures, co-ordination, representation, and communications. We have followed a similar

¹ Meisel and Lemieux, "Ethnic Relations."

framework to that adopted by our researchers and the ensuing chapters are devoted to these aspects of voluntary associations. However, we found it desirable to consider these aspects of associations somewhat more simply by combining some of the categories in our discussion. The next four chapters will therefore deal with objectives, activities, structure (including representation), and communication, where we shall be concerned with language use. Problems of co-ordination are discussed in the chapters on activities and communications.

58. While this approach has the advantage of enabling us to focus sharply on one particular aspect at a time and so to see it with greater clarity, it also entails a danger: we risk giving the impression that the parts we have isolated so that we can have a clear, uncluttered view of them have some sort of independent existence in the real world. Of course, the situation is actually far more complex. Seldom, if ever, does any one of these aspects alone have a determining effect on the nature of relations between cultural groups within any voluntary association. It is invariably the arrangements with respect to a number of them and the way in which they are related to one another which determine how Francophone and Anglophone Canadians interact in voluntary associations and how they can hope to achieve equality. These complex relations will be fully discussed in the concluding chapter of this Book.

A. A Classification of Associations

59. Voluntary associations are sometimes classified according to the major aim or aims they pursue. Since the activities and often the structure of an association are influenced by the purposes for which it was established, this is a revealing and effective way of distinguishing between different kinds of organizations. A large number of schemes have been produced for the classification of voluntary associations, ranging from very simple groupings to analytical headings of the greatest complexity.

60. For example, associations can be classified according to the general direction of their efforts; some are concerned primarily with catering to the needs of their members, whereas others are largely interested in bringing about changes (or resisting change) in the society around them. The latter group, of which conservation associations, humane societies, and groups like the Voice of Women are examples, try to *project* certain general values or policies beyond their membership and among the community at large. They are, therefore, sometimes classified as “projective” associations.

Focus of
association
efforts

61. The former, more inward-looking associations may be divided into sub-categories according to the particular interests to which they cater: one large group of associations exists to support some major occupational or economic interest of the members. These, like the Canadian Federation of Agriculture and the Union catholique des cultivateurs, are “utilitarian” associations in that they serve a clearly defined utilitarian function for their members. The chief hallmark of all the utilitarian associations is that they perform a *secondary* service

Member-oriented
associations

to some more important (usually occupational) concern of the members. Other kinds of associations cater more directly to the needs of the membership; these are usually classified according to the nature of the interest for which they exist. They may be educational, for example, like the Canadian Association for Adult Education or L'Association canadienne des éducateurs de langue française, or recreational, like the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association or the Confédération des loisirs du Québec, for instance. Classifications may sometimes be even more specialized: recreational associations, for example, may be broken down into organizations catering respectively to such interests as sports, drama, or various hobbies.

A multiplicity
of aims

62. Few organizations pursue only a single aim or even a group of aims which fall neatly into one of the categories we have used. The Chamber of Commerce, for example, may be an utilitarian association in so far as it engages in activities designed to promote the interests of its businessmen members, but it may fall under the projective heading when it sponsors a general programme in support of the acceptance of the private economic system. However, it is usually quite easy to tell which objectives are dominant.

B. Chances for Equal Opportunities in Different Kinds of Associations

63. The extent of the participation and interaction of Canada's two linguistic groups in voluntary associations depends on numerous factors and conditions. Nevertheless the evidence suggests that equal opportunities for participation and satisfaction have been more difficult to achieve in associations largely concerned with educational and projective goals than in those pursuing recreational and utilitarian ones.

Recreational
associations

64. Associations whose main interest is in recreation tend to engage most of their members at the local level and their interests are usually relatively simple and immediate: they like to play a game, pursue a hobby, or otherwise engage in leisure-time activities. These are not likely to touch upon the great issues which divide men on ideological grounds, or in response to prevailing public controversies. To the extent that recreational associations are relatively aloof from public issues, they are usually less influenced by the Canadian crisis which has affected many Canadian associations.

65. This does not mean that members of the two official-language groups invariably have equal access to what recreational associations offer, or that relations between them are always satisfactory. Many of the problems identified in this Book are present in all types of associations, but there are often fewer of them and they appear in less acute form in recreational associations.

66. To a lesser extent, the same appears to be the case in utilitarian associations. Here, as in all types of associations, members of the official-language minority often cannot participate to the same extent or with equal profit as those belonging to the majority. But, because they usually pursue relatively narrowly defined, practical advantages for their members, the utilitarian associations at least escape some of the difficulties often encountered by educational and projective associations.

Utilitarian
associations

67. A good example of this point is provided by an exchange during one of our hearings between one of the Commissioners and the president of a utilitarian association, the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants:

A Commissioner: "... apparently you give us an example of an organization that operates right across Canada in a fairly unified way and yet which has strong roots in the Province of Quebec with French-speaking members, and you have been able to maintain the sense of a single association on a kind of federal principle.... To what would you attribute the hitherto success of your association?"

The President: "I would say partly because in dealing with professional problems you meet on common ground. You may have differences of background, of regions, of occupation, but when you come to a professional problem, I would not for a moment say there is only one solution, but nevertheless the scope of the solution is narrowed to the professional field and so you have a great deal of easy conversation one way and another."¹

68. Projective associations are not only interested in propagating certain ideologies and values; they also normally address their message to distinct segments of the community. A large part of their effort is directed towards shaping public policy, and this often involves a decision as to which government is expected to deal with the issues they raise. This has sometimes led to considerable disagreement between Francophone and Anglophone members. Canadian organizations in such diverse fields as municipal government, agriculture, and higher education have each experienced disagreements over which level of government was to be approached.

Projective
associations

69. Education often is highly utilitarian in the sense that its fruits enhance an individual's capacity to function more effectively in his occupation. Associations catering to the professional interests of their members often engage in educational programmes. As a rule, these pose fewer problems for intercultural relations than more general and less professionally focussed educational projects of associations which are not primarily utilitarian. However, education is linked to the values of the society in which it occurs. Even when seemingly

Education-
oriented
associations

¹ Mr. D. Lukin Johnston at the hearings of the R.C.B.&B., Toronto, March 30, 1965.

value-free skills—those linked to computer technology, for example—are involved, the content of what is taught, and how it affects social issues, is related to what a society considers important, and in what order. Canada's two main linguistic groups have, as all our inquiries indicate, enshrined two distinct cultures whose goals are not identical. Therefore, Francophones and Anglophones do not always attach the same importance to the purposes of education and to the direction given educational efforts in their common voluntary associations.

C. Divergent Aims

Anglophone and
Francophone
views of
association
aims

70. As we have seen, most associations have more than one aim. A natural consequence is that members differ in the importance they attach to the various ends sought. These differences are not randomly distributed among the members; they reflect differences in the interests, backgrounds, and values of various groups within the associations, including, of course, the two linguistic groups. In Canadian voluntary associations of the common type, the Francophone members often attach major importance to one set of aims while their Anglophone colleagues attach greater weight to others.

Examples

71. Thus an examination of the relations between Francophones and Anglophones in labour unions found that "officers and staff in Ontario are practically unanimous that political action should be the main function of a union after collective bargaining, and that education (including political education) should come next. In Canadian Labour Congress-affiliated unions in Quebec, education, (including political education) ranks first."¹ Similarly, the existence of the Association des médecins de langue française du Canada, alongside the Canadian Medical Association, reflects—in addition to the need for coping with the language problem—the desire on the part of at least a significant number of Francophone doctors to belong to a medical association which views the practice of medicine as closely related to the cultural background of those involved in it—a view which is probably not shared by Anglophone doctors.²

72. The student organizations offer a particularly striking example of this. Until the 1960's, the Canadian Union of Students (L'Union canadienne des étudiants) attempted to serve the interests of university students from both linguistic groups. But the students from the Univer-

¹ Working paper of the R.C.B.&B., by Harry S. Crowe and Louis-Marie Tremblay, based on interviews with unionists, Part II, 144.

² J. Meisel and V. Lemieux, "Ethnic Relations in Canadian Voluntary Associations," study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

sities of Montreal and Laval (and later Sherbrooke) had a somewhat different conception of the place of students and of universities in society from that of the Anglophone majority. Their leaders were more interested in "student syndicalism," which viewed students as intellectual workers sharing many basic interests with other kinds of workers. The representatives from the English-language universities generally held a much more conventional view of the place of students in the scheme of things and consequently entertained different expectations from their country-wide associations than their Francophone associates. Under these conditions a substantial difference of opinion developed over the objectives to be pursued by student associations and the means to be used in attaining them. As well as the cleavage over the place of student associations in society, there was another divergence of opinion: the great concern of Quebec students for the protection of provincial rights in the field of education was not shared by most of the student leaders from the other provinces.

73. These differences led to the emergence of two student associations, one Francophone and the other Anglophone, demonstrating how differences in the objectives sought—even in an area where there are obviously many common interests—make it difficult or even impossible for members to benefit equally from a common association. In this case, the Quebec students attached greater weight to the projective aspects of student associations than to the utilitarian aspects, whereas the students from the other provinces were inclined to reverse the emphasis.¹

74. Differences in objectives can sometimes develop quite unperceived within an association, so that the disparity in aims is only noticed a long time after it has developed. One of the Canadian associations where this happened and in which the two linguistic groups failed to achieve equal partnership was the Canadian Junior Chamber of Commerce. There are many reasons for the respective dissatisfactions of the Francophone and Anglophone members, several of which are discussed later. The difference in objectives relevant here is related to the organization's belief in private enterprise. In French Canada, the Junior Chambers cater to a somewhat different membership than elsewhere in the country: the occupational background of the members is broader and the proportion of young business and professional people is lower. This fact is reflected not only in the Quebec Junior Chamber dropping the word "Commerce" from its name, but also in the greater willingness of the Quebec members to tolerate, or even welcome, the role of the state in economic affairs.

Disparities in
aims may go
unnoticed

¹ Both the Canadian Union of Students and the Union générale des étudiants du Québec ultimately disbanded.

75. The third article of the creed of the International Junior Chamber (La Jeune chambre internationale) asserts that economic justice can best be assured by private enterprise; this view has never been questioned by the Canadian Junior Chamber of Commerce (La Jeune chambre du commerce du Canada). However, in 1965, la Fédération des jeunes chambres du Canada français proposed that this article be replaced by a statement declaring that the economic, social, political, and cultural emancipation of citizens should be the first duty of the state. The Francophone and Anglophone sections within the Canadian Junior Chamber organization were clearly pursuing conflicting aims. But this fact was not always perceived by the leaders of the Canadian Junior Chamber; their choice of the topic for the 1963 country-wide oratorical contest was precisely this controversial third article.

76. In a case like that of the Junior Chamber, it is likely that the members of one or both linguistic groups failed to notice that their organization had been undergoing a substantial change which was affecting different parts in quite disparate ways. The history of the relations between the two linguistic groups in the Junior Chamber shows that they were drifting apart, not necessarily because of clashes between the two cultures, but because the organization appealed to a different kind of clientele and played a different role in Quebec than elsewhere in Canada. The difference in objectives, and the fact that it was not fully perceived, made it all the more difficult to deal with the conflicts arising from the cultural diversity of the members.

D. Differences in the Ranking of Objectives

77. The differences in the objectives sought by the Francophone and Anglophone members of the Junior Chamber were in some respects quite radical; therefore it was not surprising that they led to serious conflict. Sometimes, however, even when the two cultural groups share the same objectives in an association, they may wish to employ different means of attaining them. Quite often members of each of the two groups rank the various objectives of a joint association in a different order.

78. This is the case particularly at the present time in Canada, where many Francophone members of associations wish to participate in and further the new developments in Quebec. These often affect the plans and activities of Francophone members of organizations in ways which are not felt by those outside Quebec and the two official-language groups therefore tend to assign different priorities to the tasks confronted by their associations. For example, the Anglophone members of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, especially

those from the smaller provinces, are more likely to pursue policies leading to the involvement of the federal government in municipal programmes than Quebec members, who are more sensitive to the constitutional responsibility in their field of the provincial government and who are quick to resent federal encroachments on it. The consequence of this difference is that the Quebec members tend to expect the Canada-wide association to be little more than a clearing house for provincial bodies like the Union des municipalités de la province de Québec, whereas Anglophone members are likely to expect a more positive role from the central organization. Under these circumstances the Anglophones from municipalities outside Quebec may wish to use the Canadian association primarily as a pressure group for the purpose of securing more extensive federal aid to municipalities, whereas the Francophone members from Quebec are more likely to seek merely information services from it.

E. The Danger of Stereotypes

79. In a substantial proportion of the associations we examined, the Francophone members tended to think that they stressed the educational aspects of their associations more than the Anglophones. While this difference in emphasis was evident in some instances—for example, in labour unions—it was not nearly as widespread, nor as marked, as was commonly believed. Canada's two linguistic groups apparently entertain myths about the aims they allegedly pursue in associations and about what can be termed their respective associational styles. This leads many members of the two groups to have an idealized conception of themselves and to caricature the other group. Anglophone Canadians, for example, tend to see themselves as exceedingly generous and open-minded members of organizations, always pursuing policies aimed at the common good of both societies; they often seem to see their Francophone colleagues as cliquish, somewhat inefficient, and unreasonably parochial, given to allowing doctrinaire preoccupations with insignificant forms to interfere with the achievement of real and substantial advantage. Many members of the Francophone group, on the other hand, consider themselves to be less materialistic and mercenary and more concerned with matters of the spirit and the mind than their Anglophone colleagues. These are held to be somewhat crass, insensitive, and opportunistic, all too willing to abandon good Canadian principles for the sake of accepting some North American material advantage. Like most caricatures, these sketches contain a modicum of realism, but they are hardly an accurate portrait of either group: and yet there are an impressive number of cases where the

Idealizations
and
caricatures

relations between the two groups are beclouded by each ascribing to the other characteristics, intentions, or aims conforming to some such myths rather than to actual behaviour or genuine expectations. When this happens it becomes difficult for associations to accept goals and adopt practices really suited to the interests of both cultural groups, and to assure that the relations between the two groups are mutually satisfactory. The study undertaken for the Commission¹ encountered these misconceptions most frequently among the leaders of organizations composed of young people, like the students, amateur hockey associations, and Junior Chambers.

F. Objectives in Associations with External Links

80. We have already remarked that many Canadian associations have historical or organizational links with American or British associations catering to the same interests. These links may contain some dangers for associations operating in a country with two official-language groups. The goals, structures, and modes of conducting business of British and American associations have developed without taking into account any linguistic and cultural differences in their clientele; they may therefore ignore the special conditions required if the two linguistic groups are to derive equal benefit from a single organization. For example, many organizations whose main interests are narrowly utilitarian nevertheless include in their aims expressions of patriotism and of their attachment to various patriotic symbols. These goals were often simply inherited from the British or American parent organization and they may at one time have served a unifying purpose, even though they were in no way connected to the main purposes of the association. Changing conditions in Canada, and particularly lack of uniformity in the conception of the nature of the country, have sometimes robbed these general aims of their unifying effect and have made them into obstacles to the satisfactory pursuit of the main purposes of the organization. But even in the absence of such "historic" impediments, organizations whose purposes, structural forms, and methods of proceeding have been imported from other countries, or are greatly influenced by them, may be quite inappropriate for a country with two principal cultures.

81. One of the main reasons for this is that the aims members seek through their associations are often linked closely to the conception they have of their society and country. Most British and American associational models are of a kind which assumes that the members

Objectives linked
to conceptions of
society and the
country

¹ Meisel and Lemieux, "Ethnic Relations."

largely share these conceptions; they do not allow for the substantial divergences of opinion among the members even on such fundamental questions. Canadian associations wishing to serve both linguistic groups are finding increasingly that they must provide for a wide diversity of opinion between the two on a number of issues, including even that of the nature of Canada.

82. The brief presented to the Commission by the Canadian Union of Students (L'Union canadienne des étudiants) points to one instance of how the conception of Canada held by Anglophone students proved unacceptable to their Francophone colleagues, and therefore became a divisive factor in a student association: "There is no question but that some of the policies adopted by NFCUS (National Federation of Canadian University Students), while taken in the interest of benefitting students everywhere by increasing aid to higher education, were often aggravating to French-speaking students because of their distinct federal orientation."¹

G. Canadian Unity as a Goal

83. Many Canadian organizations have in the past adopted the achievement of "national unity" as one of their aims, even though the main objective may have been a more utilitarian one of furthering the members' occupational interests. The goal of "national unity" was useful in unifying a membership which may have been divided on sectional, occupational, or some other lines. Canada's duality now is being given greater recognition and more people are realizing that Canadians belonging to the two main cultural groups do not always agree on the meaning of words like "national" or "unity." However, the use of this kind of vague general terminology is being abandoned where it has no bearing on the principal aims of the associations. It is being recognized as an impediment to the fruitful sharing of other, more precise interests which the members of the two linguistic groups have in common and which they can profitably pursue through their voluntary associations.

84. Of course, some associations composed of members of both linguistic groups exist for the explicit purpose of working towards the development of the Canadian state according to certain well-defined and agreed-upon lines. These associations perform a useful function and nothing that was said in the preceding paragraph should be construed as implying a criticism of them.

¹ Brief of the cus to the R.C.B.&B.

Danger of
irrelevant
objectives

85. We do wish to point out the danger inherent in the practice of a utilitarian association composed of both official-language groups adopting general aims or policies which have very little to do with the real purposes of the association and which may interfere with the effective collaboration of the Francophone and Anglophone members. Only a few years ago, for example, Canadian associations interested in the welfare of certain professional or occupational groups often advocated closer ties with the Empire or Commonwealth, or increased immigration from the United Kingdom. This kind of objective sometimes had no relevance to the immediate purposes of the association and it is difficult to see how it served the interests of the Francophone members.

86. The fact that these kinds of general objectives or policy resolutions were adopted by many country-wide organizations indicates that the participation within them of Francophone and Anglophone members was not well balanced, and that the interests and wishes of the Anglophones tended to be dominant. The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (L'Ordre impérial des filles de l'empire), for example, told the Commission that there are no barriers to participation by Francophones in its local chapters; however, it seems likely that the very name of the organization might deter some potential members from joining. It is no doubt one of the reasons why only one quarter of the organization's Quebec membership is French-speaking.¹

87. Virtually all Canadian associations serving the two official-language groups have in recent years recognized that both in their aims and methods they had in the past failed to respond adequately to Canada's duality. As a result, most have been going through the difficult process of redefining their purposes and of finding more acceptable ways of conducting their business.

Current adjust-
ments reflect
prevailing
views of Cana-
dian society

88. The manner in which a voluntary association adjusts to the new conditions depends to a very great extent on the general climate in which it copes with the requirements of its dual membership. Associations have reflected the *political* state of the country with respect to the relations between the two linguistic groups. The way in which they have approached their often newly perceived "language" and "cultural" problems has depended in large part on the degree to which their leaders have been emotionally or otherwise involved in the current dialogue.

¹ Brief of the IODE to the R.C.B.&B., and hearings of the R.C.B.&B., Toronto, March 30, 1965.

A. *The Commission's Perspective*

1. *Two foci of attention: the individual and the association*

89. Voluntary associations engage in an immensely wide range of activities covering virtually every aspect of human experience. Therefore, we have had to be highly selective and to focus on those aspects which met two criteria: the activities we considered affect both the personal satisfaction of the members of Canada's two official-language groups in their voluntary associations and the performance and effectiveness of the associations in meeting the needs of both Francophones and Anglophones as groups. The two aspects are, of course, closely related. The first concentrates on what happens to individuals in a linguistically dual society and the second on the effects of this duality for the associations.

2. *General activities*

90. Most of the large Canadian voluntary associations engage at one time or another in one or more of the following activities: dissemination of information, training of members, holding of meetings and conventions, passing and presenting of resolutions and briefs, organizing exchanges, conducting social events, day-to-day administration, and other activities fulfilling the association's aims. The meaning of each is obvious and requires only a short elucidation.

91. Associations often provide their members with information originating outside their own ranks about subjects relevant to the

Explanation
of activities

organization's purposes; they also furnish news about internal developments. The training of members normally covers skills germane to the purposes and also to the performance of various necessary administrative and leadership tasks. For some associations, meetings constitute the main or even the only activity. They may be held locally or in provincial, regional, or pan-Canadian centres. When they are attended by a large number of members or delegates and they perform special tasks assigned by the constitution, they become conventions; delegates usually elect the executive bodies, debate and normally approve reports about past and future activities, discuss and adopt resolutions about the association's own programme and possibly also about its views on current issues. One means through which information and experiences are shared in and between associations is through exchange visits among geographically scattered members or colleagues in other associations pursuing related interests. Most associations conduct social events from time to time for members and sometimes also their families, even when social intercourse is not one of the reasons for the organization's existence. The degree to which the administration of an association is an important activity depends in part on the purpose and size of the organization, but none can survive without some sort of administrative routine. The final activity listed is in many respects the most important and also the most difficult to describe. It is the activity for which the association exists and to which those mentioned already are largely subservient. It may be the playing of a sport or of a musical instrument, the servicing of a profession or trade, the contesting of elections, the negotiation of labour contracts, the bringing of pressure on governments in support of the members' interests, the propagation of an ideology, or one or more of the literally thousands of other purposes for which individuals band together in informal organizations.

3. Obstacles to equal participation

The language
obstacle

92. There are serious disparities in the degree to which Francophone and Anglophone Canadians benefit from belonging to common associations and to which they participate in their activities: on the whole, Francophones are involved less—and often less effectively. Language provides an obvious and powerful explanation. Its importance in this respect is so great that the problems it poses are discussed in a separate chapter below, devoted to communications between the two groups in voluntary associations. Most of the difficulties arise essentially from the fact that in many common associations, unilingual Anglophones predominate. A Francophone therefore often finds himself in the position of having to function in the English language if he wishes to benefit

from his membership in a country-wide Canadian organization. This imposes obvious penalties and handicaps on members of the official-language minority.

93. The barriers obstructing the full participation of Francophones in these associations are by no means only linguistic. The cultural problems are very real, even though they cannot be described with quite the same precision as linguistic problems. The fact of being a member of any kind of minority affects the individual concerned and his place in the association. The rules of procedure, the manner of approaching problems, the unspoken premises, and shared educational—and often occupational—background of the majority make him feel like a stranger and force him to operate in a rather unfamiliar terrain.¹

The feeling of
strangeness
and being a
minority

94. The point was made to the Commission very effectively at one of our hearings when James de B. Domville, a spokesman for the National Theatre School of Canada, said:

Not only the dominance, but the appearance of domination, of one group by another must be avoided. It seems to me to be very important from the psychological point of view that, when there is a minority and a majority, the minority must not feel itself dominated by the majority, whether or not this is actually the case. When our classes have more or less equal numbers of the two groups, we find that things go much more smoothly than when the teacher feels it necessary to favour the majority group simply because it is the majority, or to favour the minority because it is the minority.²

95. The feeling of being an outsider, often associated with being a member of a minority group, does not necessarily prevent Francophones from participating in the activities of the Anglophone majority, but they have to make a greater effort than the others if they do join and they are confronted with a psychic cost. A closer examination of the major classes of activity outlined above will reveal more specific reasons for differences in the degree to which members of the two linguistic groups participate in voluntary associations.

B. Participation and the Major Categories of Activity

1. Participation and the dissemination of information

96. The extent to which a member of either linguistic group in an association benefits from the information disseminated again depends in part on the language used and on his capacity to use it. If all the

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, § 730.

² Hearings of the R.C.B.&B., Montreal, September 7, 1965. See Appendix IV for original French.

material is circulated in both languages, the members of the two linguistic groups have equal access to the same information and equal opportunity to benefit from it. But most country-wide organizations have found it difficult to disseminate all the information in French as well as in English, so the Francophones have not had as good an opportunity to be well informed as the Anglophones. Obviously, if all Canadians were bilingual, this question would not raise the same problems. But this is not the case—nor is it likely to be the case in the future, and one group is usually favoured because its language is favoured.

Production of
information

97. So far we have considered only the consumption aspects of the news and information distributed to the members. These items, whether they be bulletins, journals, memoranda, or lectures, have to be produced; decisions about what information should be disseminated and how are as important as the choice of language. If these decisions are made consistently by members of one linguistic group, without consultation of those familiar with the views of the other group, the needs or interests of the other group will likely not be met, or will be met imperfectly. Because of the language factor, their relative numerical weakness, and the dominant position of the Anglophones in many sectors of Canadian life, Francophones often play only a minor role in the running of common associations; therefore, they often have only a minor part—or no part at all—in deciding what sort of information is to be circulated.

Language as
a vehicle
for culture

98. Some people feel that the language one speaks has no bearing on most of the activities carried out in voluntary associations—how one plays a game of hockey, for example, or how one decides the most effective way of opposing the taxation of co-operatives. But we are concerned not only with two linguistic groups but also with two cultures. And culture, as “a way of being, thinking, and feeling”¹ influences what an individual considers important, and how he can best achieve these goals. Cultural differences can quite easily lead to differences in the priorities that members of each group assign to various aspects of the programme and also to the manner in which they feel the activities should be pursued.

99. A representative of the Dominion Drama Festival was explicit on this point when discussing with the Commission his organization's problems in securing competent adjudicators:

Mr. Melanson: We have had a great many difficulties . . . in finding people who are competent in both traditions and techniques of the theatre to adjudicate our Festivals. . . .

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 38.

Two months ago I asked one person in French theatre if he would be interested in judging one of our competitions and he said, "I would very much like to . . . I feel I speak English very well, but I am not bicultural enough."¹

100. The awareness of this aspect of cultural difference underlay a statement made by a leading member of the Association des médecins de langue française du Canada when he once described the purpose of his association as "to encourage the development of medicine according to the genius of our [i.e. French Canadian] civilization and culture, and according to our own intellectual aptitudes and characteristics."²

101. Because of the importance of cultural—as distinct from linguistic—differences, associations seeking to serve both of Canada's main cultural groups are likely to be effective in promoting equal partnership only if decisions about virtually all activities, including the dissemination of information, are made with the full and free participation of both Francophones and Anglophones.

2. *Participation and training*

102. The same applies to the training of members, whether it be with reference to the skills related directly to the purposes of the association or to those needed for its efficient administration. Here, as elsewhere, the relatively small proportion of Francophone members has led many common associations to conduct the training programmes entirely or predominantly in English, with obvious consequences for the Francophone members.

103. The Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants was eloquently forthright when dealing with this problem in its brief to the Commission:

Because accounting journals, technical literature and promotional literature emanating from Canadian sources are usually in the English language, the value of these services to French speaking members is minimal. Thus, they do not reap the full benefits of the research and advanced knowledge that is contained in these publications.

104. The same problem was described in greater detail to the Commission in another brief:

There are in Canada a number of professional educational organizations, of which The Canadian Credit Institute is one. All are attempting to ensure national standards of vocational competency by offering appropriate designations to such of their members who undertake prescribed courses of

¹ Mr. L. Melanson, discussing the submission of the Dominion Drama Festival, at the hearings of R.C.B.&B., Ottawa, March 1, 1965.

² Dr. Arthur Rousseau in 1920, cited in *L'Union Médicale du Canada*, March 1955, 258. See Appendix IV for original French. Similar sentiments are invoked by the association's spokesmen to this day.

training and successfully write a series of examinations in various subjects which are precisely the same in all provinces. Instruction, as in the Canadian Credit Institute's course, is usually offered by correspondence, with the Extension Division of various Universities across Canada conducting this activity on behalf of the professional educational organizations concerned. In certain cases, the Universities through their Extension Departments offer appropriate supporting activities. The local chapters of The Canadian Credit Institute hold lectures in their individual locations, and students within these areas are, therefore, able to avail themselves of this additional benefit.

French-speaking students, however, who wish to use this system of instruction and examination, suffer from at least two handicaps:

- (1) The prescribed text books and auxiliary printed material are usually provided only in English;
- (2) Examinations are conducted in English, which compels the student whose principal language of daily usage is French, to think out his replies in that language and then translate them. This process is wasteful of examination time and conducive to the introduction of outright error, or unintentional and misleading emphasis in translation.

The Canadian Credit Institute is aware of the difficulties involved in providing text books in French to prepare the student for examinations, which must be standard across Canada. The University of Toronto, Extension Division, shares this concern with the Institute. The matter of finding a French language university having facilities to administer a correspondence course, to conduct examinations at a number of centres, should present less difficulty. The Canadian Credit Institute, therefore, has been seeking some practical methods whereby this academic embarrassment may be removed. The Canadian Credit Institute also suggested that other interested organizations, professional educational institutions, and Universities be urged to share the experience they have gained in this endeavour.¹

**Prohibitive
costs**

105. The brief of the Canadian Credit Institute and the experience of a very large number of other organizations show that Canadian associations sometimes face serious problems in trying to provide equal services to Anglophones and Francophones. The literature most suited for the necessary educational purposes may not be available in both languages and may not even be Canadian. There is also likely to be a lack of training personnel who speak French. The cost of providing the required translation services may appear to be prohibitive, but it is important to note that what is considered prohibitive usually depends on a priority of values—that is, on how much value the association places on providing Francophones and Anglophones with equal access to the benefits of their association. A spokesman for the Canadian Welfare Council touched on this point when discussing his organization's brief:

For example, when you call our office the operator answers, "Canadian Welfare Council," and she goes on, "Le Conseil Canadien du Bien-Être."

¹ Brief of Canadian Credit Institute to the R.C.B.&B.

A demon efficiency expert would tell you that this is nonsense.

Our bilingual letterheads are bulky.

We have our national conventions where over a thousand or fifteen hundred people come and we provide simultaneous translation. In Hamilton we watched and checked that there were four people out of a thousand using the simultaneous translation. . . .

So it goes on and on and on; and, as I say, unless you are basically convinced that one culture has something to offer the other and that it is a two-way street, and that by practising this both cultures in the long run will come out richer and better for it—unless you are convinced of this then administrating a bilingual and bicultural organization doesn't make sense.¹

106. The kind of conviction evidently held by the Canadian Welfare Council is necessary if an organization is to cater effectively to both linguistic groups. In any event, the fact that Francophones participate less in pan-Canadian associations than Anglophones is in part explained by the linguistic and cultural obstacles in the training process. Canadian associations will have to accept the cost of providing educational programmes in both languages.

107. One of the problems they encounter in these efforts is caused by Canada's geography. The training of members sometimes requires that a programme be established in one place to which the trainees have to travel and where they must stay for an extended period of time. Travel is expensive and therefore imposes greater hardships on those who have smaller financial resources.

Consequences of
geography and
economic
inequality

108. As a group, Francophones are economically less well off in Canada than Anglophones² and this is reflected in many voluntary associations. Members of Les scouts catholiques du Canada could not afford as costly a set of programmes as the Boy Scouts of Canada, for example, and this kind of disparity was present in a number of associations examined by our researchers. The need to leave home to attend a training session and to stay for a few days may therefore demand relatively greater sacrifices from Francophones than Anglophones. If to this is added the greater inconvenience Francophones experience in travelling to cities where French is not generally spoken (most associations arrange these sessions in various regions of the country), it becomes apparent that the incentives and opportunities available to them for participating in educational ventures are not as great as those of their Anglophone colleagues.

¹ Reuben C. Baetz, Executive Director of the Canadian Welfare Council, at the hearings of the R.C.B.&B., Ottawa, December 14, 1965.

² See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, III.

3. Meetings and conventions

109. What has already been said about the dissemination of information and training opportunities applies with equal force to meeting and conventions. The participation of Francophones in Canada-wide conventions has been particularly low in most of the common associations about which information was available.

110. The fact that this was true even when the gatherings took place in Quebec means that there are other factors apart from language and economics. Probably the most compelling of these is related to the business transacted at these conventions. This normally consists of hearing reports about past activities, the election of the executive, and the passing of various resolutions. In a great many Canadian associations the Francophone members are simply not very interested in these proceedings because they feel that they concern them only marginally. This suggests that many Canadian associations have not developed their programmes in a manner which would engage the interest and commitment of their Francophone members.

Consequences
of "the game
of numbers"

111. Most Francophones in mixed associations have, over the years, come to terms in some way with the Anglophone majority's view on how decisions should fairly be made in common associations. This viewpoint, sometimes called the "game of numbers," asserts that in a democratic form of government the majority must rule. Those who support this view consider that no distinction should be made between Francophones and Anglophones in the sense that within an association the numerical majority opinion must prevail, even if all Francophone members are ranged on the opposite side.

112. Those Francophones who have been prepared to accept this principle within common associations have been content to derive such benefits from belonging to a pan-Canadian association as they could, fully realizing that these benefits were of necessity often less numerous and less satisfactory, and more costly in terms of effort expended to attain them, than the benefits available to the Anglophone majority. One consequence of this acceptance of minority status has been a failure to identify with the association and to maintain a lively interest in it. The programme, they came to believe, was largely designed to cater to the needs of the Anglophone majority and was, therefore, of no great concern to the Francophones; the leaders were almost always Anglophones and unknown to the Francophone members, the matters they would be called upon to deal with concerned mostly the Anglophones, and the resolutions frequently were of no interest to the minority group or were even mildly irritating to them. Under these circumstances many Francophone members found the

conventions considerably less inviting than the Anglophones and consequently they did not participate to nearly the same extent. Not only was this a loss to the organization but, when the conventions were held outside Quebec, the Quebec members lost the opportunity to become better acquainted with the rest of Canada.

113. This tendency to non-participation has been increasing in recent years, largely because a growing number of Francophone Quebecers are becoming fully absorbed in the developments and life of their province, at the expense of being interested in Canada as a whole, and also because of the more widespread refusal of Francophones to be denied equal opportunities as the result of the operation of the "game of numbers."

4. Resolutions

114. We have already observed that the objectives pursued by an association are sometimes defined by the majority without sufficient consideration being given the wishes and interests of the Francophone minority. Resolutions passed by conventions often embody the objectives, or the apparent objectives of the organization, or they may simply express what are deemed to be current views or demands of the members. If they make a plea for increased immigration from the United Kingdom, for example, demand conscription at a time when it is strongly opposed in French Canada, or, under present conditions, urge the federal government to act in fields like education or municipal affairs, in which the Quebec government feels its jurisdiction threatened, then they are almost certainly playing the "game of numbers" and they are contributing to the lack of interest on the part of the Francophone members in participating in common associations. If, on the other hand, they demand that the federal government employ a larger number of Francophone civil servants, they may bore or antagonize the Anglophone members.

115. Some associations are disposed to adopt a large number of resolutions dealing with a great many diverse subjects—some of them of only minor relevance to the organization's purposes. The danger in this practice is that it increases the possibility that resolutions will be proposed which offend members of one of the two linguistic groups. We do not suggest that associations should avoid discussions on which there are differences of opinion between the two groups; if differences exist, they must be squarely faced. But we do suggest that the adoption of resolutions dealing with matters of only marginal interest to the association can, without furthering the association's main purposes, create unnecessary conflict or make the association less attractive to either

Resolutions
peripheral to
the association's
purpose

the Francophone or the Anglophone members and to reduce the degree to which they participate in its activities.

5. *Exchanges*

116. Most of what has been said about the other activities of associations applies also to exchanges such as visits of Francophone groups to the English-speaking parts of Canada and vice versa, or the reciprocal visits of speakers, experts in one of the association's activities, or of employees and officers of the association. There is some evidence that when these are between Francophone and Anglophone *groups*, the benefits and costs are shared more or less evenly. This is no doubt because all participants are aware of the need to make the activities useful to both groups and the Francophone individuals are not isolated—a fact which, when they are in an unaccustomed environment, reduces the strangeness of the experience by placing each individual in a familiar and “protective” group. Exchanges of groups are, therefore, generally desirable as they are likely to increase the interest and participation of Francophones in the activities of common pan-Canadian associations.¹

6. *Social events*

117. A number of factors already mentioned in another context have also stood in the way of the equal participation of Francophones and Anglophones in the social activities of common associations. They concern language use, economic and cultural differences between the two groups, and the fact that many of the major annual social events of Canadian associations take place far from the geographic centres of the French-speaking population and in cities in which French is not spoken even in hotels and other places frequented by tourists. These barriers notwithstanding, members of both linguistic groups clearly enjoy meeting one another in a social context, and this has been an effective way of supplementing the more routine contacts maintained in connection with the main activities of the associations. The presence at some social occasions of the members' families and the relaxed, holiday spirit that often prevails facilitate the establishment of contacts and ties which often lead to a more realistic mutual awareness of each other's interests and needs. Associations able to do so should, therefore, maximize the opportunities for social contacts among their members and

¹ An appendix to the brief presented to the R.C.B.&B. by the Province of Quebec Chamber of Commerce contains an admirable illustration of the present argument: see Appendix II.

their families and should organize these so that they are equally attractive to both linguistic groups.

7. Participation and the administration of associations

118. Country-wide associations are usually administered at several levels, depending on their structure. Most have divisions operating in the local or provincial spheres as well as a Canadian office concerned with the country as a whole. The participation of members generally tends to be greater at the local level, but this tendency is much more pronounced among the Quebec members than among the other members. The executive business of most pan-Canadian associations is conducted by Anglophones whose language and style are everywhere in evidence. Thus, there are the usual obstacles to the full and relaxed participation by Francophone leaders or paid officials. The physical setting of the headquarters of many associations in Ottawa or Toronto—cities which have not been noted for making Francophones feel at home—has further reduced Francophone interest in participating in the administration of country-wide common associations.

8. Particular activities

119. Not many general observations can be made about the appeal of the activities for which associations exist: a great deal depends on their nature and scope. At the pan-Canadian level there are the usual linguistic and cultural impediments to equality in participation, but the consequences for each of the two linguistic groups depend to a large measure on the particular activities concerned. Again, members of each group are much more likely to participate in the life of their association if they are also fully involved in the process of deciding what is to be done and how. On the whole, Francophones have had fewer opportunities in this respect and they have accordingly participated less.

C. The Importance of Co-ordination

120. The task of co-ordination requires considerable skill, patience, and goodwill. For example, if a central governing body in a pan-Canadian association attempts to co-ordinate the activities of all the component parts too vigorously and closely, it may impose so much uniformity as to make parts of the activities unattractive to certain groups of members, who may then find the association itself uninteresting or unattractive. On the other hand, if an association makes

inadequate efforts at co-ordinating the programmes of its component parts, it may squander energies and other resources through wasteful duplication and may deprive itself of the benefits which can accrue when the members of different backgrounds co-ordinate their plans for the realization of a common enterprise. It is obvious that associations wishing to serve both linguistic groups adequately will need to co-ordinate the activities of the Francophones and Anglophones so that the resources spent are equitably distributed and so that both groups can have an effective voice in formulating and executing plans of action which appeal to them.

The cost-benefit
approach is
useful

121. There are no absolute standards from which members of an organization can deduce the extent of this co-ordination. Conditions vary enormously from association to association with respect to the objectives sought and activities pursued, the nature and interests of the Anglophone and Francophone groups, and the general conditions in which activities are planned. Within a given association, a highly co-ordinated effort may be appropriate for one type of activity and a totally unco-ordinated one for another. It is nevertheless helpful in assessing the desirable level of co-ordination to weigh both the perceived and the unperceived costs incurred and benefits derived by the members. The activities of the two linguistic groups should ideally be co-ordinated so that the members of each group can maximize their own development without interfering with that of the others, while at the same time benefitting from their presence. This ideal balance is never quite achieved; it can only be approximated by a trial and error procedure carried out over an extended period of time.

The need for
joint planning

122. The activities of Francophones and Anglophones in common voluntary associations have been co-ordinated most effectively when their plans and projects were devised jointly by members of the two linguistic groups. Conversely, co-ordination has proved difficult when a programme was largely drawn up by only one group, which then expected the other to accept a *fait accompli*.

Who initiates
programmes?

123. An important factor in this context concerns the question of who initiates action which is expected to be undertaken jointly. Usually the problem hinges on whether the ideas for activities should originate at the centre or in the field. Much depends on the size and nature of the organization concerned. Some Canadian associations have experienced internal problems because the Quebec or French-speaking units thought that the general programme was conceived in too centralized a form and that, consequently, their special interests were partially or totally ignored. Effective co-ordination of effort is most easily achieved when the proposed activities are attractive to the participants; this is more

likely to be the case when they have had a hand in planning them. In a country like Canada, the full participation of both linguistic groups in this process is often better achieved when central executives or planning bodies decentralize some of their activities in order to encourage provincial, regional, and local initiatives in proposing and executing policies and programmes.

124. It is usually more costly, both in time and money, to decentralize decision-making and then to co-ordinate the ideas and activities proposed by the various units and individuals concerned. However, this cost is inevitable if an association wishes to serve its members—and particularly the two linguistic groups—in an equitable manner; not to co-ordinate in this way may be even costlier.

125. The process of co-ordinating the activities of Anglophones and Francophones is closely linked to the way in which they communicate with each other. Adequate co-ordination is impossible without the accurate communication of the ideas and interests of the participants in any programme. The problems of maintaining satisfactory communications between the two linguistic groups in Canadian associations are discussed in Chapter V, and much of what is said there is also relevant to the problems of co-ordination raised here.

Co-ordination
related to
communication

126. If the two official-language groups do not participate equally in the activities of voluntary associations, they cannot benefit equally from their membership. They not only derive unequal rewards from the efforts put into belonging but they also have unequal access to the indirect benefits of associational experience. As a consequence, inequalities may develop or be perpetuated between the two linguistic groups in their respective occupational and recreational capabilities, in their mental health, and in their capacities as citizens.

Summary

127. There is a further serious consequence to this situation: because of the operation of a somewhat circular process, the lower the participation of one linguistic group, the less likelihood there is that members of that group will wish to participate in the future. If members of a group do not play an active role in an association, they will have little influence over the programme, personnel, and activities. The failure of the members of one group at a given point in time to play a full role in their association is almost certain to affect the usefulness of the association for members of the same group at some future date. Since it is much more difficult for a group to gain influence than to abdicate it, the process of opting out may have long-term consequences which can be corrected only with the greatest difficulty.

128. The formal and informal ways through which Francophones and Anglophones can effectively express their opinions and interests within voluntary associations influence the relations between the two linguistic groups and their active participation in the life of the country.

A. *Organizational Forms*

1. *General*

129. The formal way an organization's constituent parts are related to one another largely determines how and by whom its decisions are made. This structure is invariably laid down in the constitution, which identifies the levels in the organization at which certain specified types of policies and practices are decided and indicates the channels of responsibility and command. The formal organization of an association provides a reasonably rigid frame supporting a vast and ever changing network of informal arrangements which usually give a more realistic picture of the nature of the organization. However, these informal arrangements are without question strongly influenced by the underlying organizational base. We shall first identify the formal arrangements and then explore how they, and the informal arrangements, affect Canada's two official-language groups.

Formal and
informal
arrangements

130. Constitutions, and the organization charts based on them, are often a concrete expression of the views of their framers about the relations that should exist between the association's constituents.

Association
constitutions

Therefore, they determine certain kinds of behaviour and also articulate assumptions the leaders have, or had, about the nature of the groups in the associations and how they can most effectively interact. In a country with two linguistic communities, constitutions are therefore useful indicators of how influential members of the two linguistic groups think, or thought, that they should interact.

131. Constitutions are sometimes considered by some of the groups they affect—and particularly by minority groups—as “declarations of intent,” indicating the aims and desires of the members of the organization whose structure and modes of procedure they define. When a desired goal cannot immediately be attained, the fact that it is at least expressed as a formal objective in the constitution may sometimes assuage anxieties and reassure members of the minority group about the goods intentions of the other, more favoured members of the organization.

Parallels
between
associations and
Canada's
constitution

132. In deciding what particular structure would best serve its interest, a voluntary association confronts dilemmas similar to those which challenge Canadian federalism: what is the appropriate degree of centralization and decentralization and, more particularly, what should be the formal relations between Francophones and Anglophones? A graphic description of the very practical way in which these problems present themselves to many Canadian associations was put before the Commission by the brief of the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants:

Like other Canadian organizations operating on a national scale, we are faced with a division of function and responsibility between the Canadian and provincial Institutes. In theory this is not an easy distinction to make in a precise and clear-cut manner, but in practice we have found that a reasonably workable division of fields can be made. For example: The education of our students must by its very nature be a provincial matter in order that it may fit in with the pattern of the educational system extant in Canada. Nevertheless we have been successful in so co-ordinating the examinations on a national scale that each of the provincial Institutes has for many years now accepted and adopted the one set of examinations as its standard of qualification. You can appreciate the importance of this to a profession in contributing to a uniform standard of competence throughout the country.

Research in its every phase is easy to classify as a nationwide project, because of the very heavy cost of research and the advantages that can come from pooling of talent and resources.

On the other hand, the supervision of professional conduct of members is a matter that can be handled most effectively at the provincial level.

Practice has resulted in the work of the national body being of two sorts. In certain areas it takes direct responsibility—for example, in research—

while in other areas it provides a meeting ground for the provincial Institutes to consider matters which are essentially provincial in nature, but where there are advantages to pooling the experience of the different provincial Institutes.¹

133. Members of the two official-language groups in voluntary associations have frequently tried to establish structures and adopt procedures equally satisfactory to both, and their discussions have often paralleled debates in Canada about revisions of the British North America Act. In both cases the discussion revolves around the same themes: "special status," Quebec being a province like no other, the need to protect the Francophone minorities in the other provinces, the advantages of the central government having extensive powers so that common standards of well-being can be created, or the exigencies of majority government. Many Francophones, restive under arrangements which they saw as restrictive and inadequate, have urged that what they take to be the spirit underlying the B.N.A. Act—the desire to create a partnership between Francophones and Anglophones—has to be infused into their voluntary association.

134. It is not inappropriate that the arguments taken from the constitutional field should have been applied to voluntary associations. The latter in a sense mirror Canada's political community; however, since their scope of activity is smaller, the problems they face are less complex, and since they are private, the options open to them are greater. At the same time, the success with which they cope with Canada's duality is one of the conditions determining whether a satisfactory solution to current political and constitutional problems can be found.

2. Two basic types: common and parallel

135. Among Canada's voluntary associations there are many organizational forms. Associations may be formed by direct individual membership or organized into branches; they encompass the component parts directly or through intermediary tiers at the provincial or regional level. They may be highly centralized or loosely strung together. Associations may be grouped according to the degree to and the form in which they unite or segregate Francophone and Anglophone members. One extreme type consists of a mixed, unitary Canada-wide body, composed of individual members from both linguistic groups and giving no recognition in its formal structure to their cultural duality. At the other extreme there is the type of association in which members of the two

¹ Brief of the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants to the R.C.B.&B.

cultural groups belong to two unilingual sections linked to one another in only a most tenuous way. This particular arrangement may in fact take the form of two quite distinct organizations, each serving its own linguistically defined constituency. The Canadian Economics Association, composed of individual members from both linguistic groups interested in the academic study of economics, is an example of the first type. The Boy Scouts of Canada and l'Association des scouts catholiques du Canada, which are two independent bodies linked by slender organizational ties, exemplify the other. As we have previously noted, associations will be referred to as "common" when they cater to both linguistic groups, largely within a unitary framework, and "parallel" when the linguistic groups have a separate identification.

136. These two types of associations represent extremes in that they display certain characteristics in an undiluted form. In the unitary common type of organization there is no structural provision for the separation of Francophone and Anglophone members, whereas in the parallel type of organization there is express provision for serving the two linguistic groups separately. However, in between these two types there is a very complex range of associational structures which combine some characteristics of each model. The parallel unilingual type may take at least two forms: completely separate bodies (the Co-operative Union of Canada and the Conseil canadien de la coopération are an example) and two associations maintaining very modest ties (the scouts). At the other pole there are many more possibilities, ranging from a monolithic, unitary organization to a federation of provincial or regional structures displaying varying degrees of decentralization. These are, of course, not strictly unitary but their membership is mixed. Under some of the more decentralized forms there are occasionally sections which are totally or almost totally Francophone, although the association as a whole may be predominantly Anglophone. A parallel may be drawn between these French-language sections and the unilingual units we recommend for the federal Public Service.¹

A criterion for
assessing each
organizational
form

137. Our discussion of organizational forms will concentrate on the two extreme types, mentioning modifications in each when this seems appropriate. We will examine some of the main advantages and disadvantages of each, and the way in which the latter have been met. The criterion used in the assessment is simple: practices and experiences contributing to equal access and opportunity for participation are considered advantageous, and those standing in the way of this sort of equality are classified as disadvantageous.

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, III, §§ 766-94.

B. Common Associations

1. Advantages

138. In associations where the members are few and geographically widely scattered, or where their interests are very narrow and related to cultural questions only in the remotest way, the unitary common organization may be particularly appropriate. For instance, a club catering to owners of 1909 model T Fords is not likely to gain much from establishing local, provincial, and regional divisions. Its technical literature and correspondence would almost certainly be only in English. Similarly, Anglophone members of a club for owners of early Renault models might expect that all the association's business would be in French. These two examples may appear frivolous, but they clearly show that for some purposes a unitary common association may serve Canadians adequately. In some branches of the natural and social sciences, for example, or in certain areas of the business world, a reading knowledge of English is essential for those wishing to keep abreast of current developments, and an association whose major activity is to disseminate highly technical and specialized information may meet the needs of its members by mailing its material in only one language and from one central office to its geographically scattered members.

139. One attractive feature of the unitary common association is that it encourages closer relations between members of the two linguistic groups. Interaction between the two cultures is mutually enriching and contributes to the creativity and vitality of Canadian life, as long as neither is inhibited in its free and full development. An associational form encouraging this interaction is therefore potentially promising, provided that steps necessary for the achievement of equality are taken within it.

140. The decision-making process is usually less complex and cumbersome in unitary systems than in those which contain several levels of more or less autonomous sections. It is therefore often easier for unitary organizations to reach decisions quickly, effectively, and without blurring the line to be taken as the result of compromise. As a consequence, the policies adopted tend to be clear-cut and can be pursued with great vigour. This is not to say that unitary bodies are always more incisive and decisive than other kinds but merely that, other things being equal, it is easier for them to be so. In certain kinds of associations—for example, utilitarian ones engaged in providing their members with specific, material benefits—the unitary structure

Common
associations and
utilitarian
objectives

may facilitate the efficient operation of the association and the attainment of maximum benefits for all its members.

141. Unitary common associations usually serve their members of both linguistic groups most effectively when they pursue limited, utilitarian, material, and rather mundane objectives. For instance, Francophone members of the Canadian Medical Association as a group probably derive roughly the same measure of benefit as the Anglophone members from the Canadian Medical Retirement Savings Plan and the Canadian Medical Equity Fund, both of which are operated by the CMA. They probably profit less than the Anglophone doctors from the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, which is overwhelmingly English, and from the rest of the Association's publication programme, which appears partly in both languages, but cannot be considered truly bilingual.

2. Drawbacks

142. Obviously, if both linguistic groups do not participate equally in the decision-making process, an association's programme is likely to reflect the values of the more active group and to neglect those of the other. This point is relevant to the present discussion because unitary, common associations normally find it difficult to give adequate representation on their decision-making bodies to both cultural groups. The more numerous Anglophones tend to dominate.

143. Often, of course, Francophone members of such associations are content with this state of affairs; they may be satisfied with the material benefits their association provides and not notice or care that the decision on what these benefits are, and how they are to be attained, is made by leaders who are not aware of the particular perspectives of French culture. Even Francophone members greatly concerned about the health and vitality of their cultural tradition may take this view, in the belief that their personal life can best be strengthened through the material and professional benefits bestowed by their association; they perhaps feel that their interests as Francophones can be taken care of by participating in other organizations. This position overlooks two phenomena discussed elsewhere: first, even though a Francophone may derive considerable benefits from belonging to such an association, he may still gain less than a similarly placed Anglophone, and, second, his membership in this sort of association may hasten the process of acculturation.¹ The efficacy of most associations must be

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 41.

measured in terms of the balance between benefits derived and costs incurred by the members of the two official-language groups.

144. In the governing bodies of most unitary common associations, the voice of the official-language minority group is at best equal to its numerical representation in the membership. But, since Francophones participate less in the activities of common associations than Anglophones, their representation on the decision-making bodies is usually substantially below their proportion in the membership. So, unless exceptional care is taken to assure that their viewpoint is heard and taken into account, the interests of the Francophones are likely to be overlooked entirely or at least given relatively little weight.

Under-
representation
of Francophone
interests

145. This tendency is further enhanced by the fact that unitary organizations usually have a high degree of centralized decision-making. Most decisions are made at the pan-Canadian level and there is, therefore, no institutional check on the leaders when they forget the country's heterogeneity and its linguistic duality. Under these conditions, it is easy to overlook the Francophones' interests and needs. In particular, the pan-Canadian leaders are likely to be oblivious to the fact that a minority situation affects the extent to which one can participate in, or profit from, the activities of an association, even when the executive includes one or two Francophones.

146. One area in which this neglect of the Francophone position sometimes manifests itself is in the expenditure of funds. The fee structure in unitary, common organizations is invariably uniform and there is certainly no difference in the fees levied on members of the two linguistic groups. In a very large number of associations, services provided are not of equal attractiveness or usefulness to the two linguistic groups. Some of the reasons for this have already been examined. Because of the language factor, many Francophones are unable to enjoy fully one of the most costly associational services: its publications. The allocation of funds and the fee structure normally do not take this into account; consequently, Francophones to some extent subsidize the services provided their Anglophone colleagues. By the same token, in associations where services are provided in French, the Anglophones, who usually outnumber their Francophone colleagues by a wide margin, may feel that it is they who are subsidizing the minority membership. Thus, the unitary, common organizational form may encourage mutual suspicions and recriminations. This tends to be a fruitless argument since solid, objective evidence is virtually impossible to establish. Questions of this sort are exceedingly subtle and complex and can never be resolved by considering dollars and cents only.

Expenditure
of funds

3. Some means of coping with the drawbacks

147. It is clear that the unitary type of association makes exceptional demands on the sensitivity, perceptiveness, and ingenuity of its members and leaders if they wish their association to be equally useful to both linguistic groups. Despite its many advantages, it is not an organizational form which is easily adapted to the requirements of a country composed of two societies, although there are associations, like the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, which have been most effective in this respect.

148. The challenge presented by this kind of structure in Canada has been met in various ways: by trying to provide all services in both languages, by establishing special committees responsible for ensuring that the interests of the two linguistic groups are taken care of and that the relations between them are satisfactory, or by devising special methods of voting on issues of particular importance to members of the official-language minority. More will be said about these devices below, since they are common to several organizational forms.

A modification of the unitary form

149. One response has been structural: by adopting a more decentralized organizational base, some associations have been able to deal quite effectively with the requirements of both linguistic groups. A formula adopted by many of the most important Canadian associations has divided the membership into smaller sections, usually corresponding to certain well-defined geographic areas. "The Canadian Chamber of Commerce," for example, "is the national voluntary federation of more than 850 community Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce (the terms are synonymous) throughout Canada. Some 165 community Chambers in the province of Quebec and some 35 Chambers in other parts of Canada carry on their work mainly in the French language, the remainder in English."¹ Many Canadian associations are groupings of provincial or regional organizations, linked together by bonds varying considerably in strength and flexibility. The structure of these associations is a modified version of the unitary type we have been discussing so far.

150. Its chief characteristic is that it assumes the existence—as part of the country-wide structure—of provincial or regional divisions with various degrees of autonomy. In some associations, the provincial bodies are merely branches of a pan-Canadian organization, enjoying relatively little opportunity for independent decision-making and being, to all intents and purposes, inferior administrative divisions within a

¹ Submission of the Executive Council of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce to the R.C.B.&B.

rigidly hierarchical system. In other associations, they are quasi-independent organizations joined together into a Canadian body by loose federal ties. Given the wide variation possible in the degree to which decisions are centralized or decentralized, it is difficult to generalize about the way in which the type of structure affects relations between the two cultural groups.

151. For this discussion we will assume that the average type of association is composed of provincial organizations enjoying a fairly high level of local decision-making. In this type of structure, programmes and activities can be planned and carried out in part by each of the two linguistic groups in a manner which suits them best, as in the Chamber of Commerce. They may choose to undertake some enterprises jointly and others separately, as their respective interests and conditions warrant. This organizational form therefore allows for the play of both uniformity and diversity.

Associations composed of provincial organizations

152. Decentralizing the decision-making process to some extent often enables Francophone members to participate in the formulation of policies and to apply them in their own language and within their own cultural milieu. The extent to which this is possible depends largely on how the sub-groups are organized and on the proportion of Anglophones and Francophones in them. The same organizational arrangement also protects the Anglophone minority. The Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec, for example, is divided into eleven districts, which may be subdivided into chapters

The two official-language minorities

...for reasons of language or geography.... In Montreal, Sherbrooke and Quebec, there are two chapters, one English and the other French. The participation of the English minority in Quebec and Sherbrooke is assured by agreements between the nurses of the districts. One of the chapter presidents represents the district on the Committee of Management and the other sits on the Committee without having the right to vote. Funds which are allocated to each district or chapter are in proportion to the number of members.¹

153. In country-wide associations in which the provincial organizations make important decisions, the Quebec body normally provides the milieu in which Francophones can feel most at ease and champions their interests at the pan-Canadian level. To some extent, the effectiveness of the Quebec wing in performing these functions depends on the proportion of Francophones and Anglophones in it. There are organizations where, even in the Quebec section, English is the dominant language. This is so particularly in instances where two associations pursuing the same objectives operate in Quebec—one as part of a pan-

¹ Brief of the Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec to the R.C.B.&B.

Canadian network and the other locally or with reference exclusively to Francophones in Canada. The Quebec Amateur Hockey Association and the Confédération des loisirs du Québec, section hockey, are an example.

154. Some pan-Canadian associations with a variety of regional or provincial organizations have been highly successful in formulating and propagating policies and ideas at both the local (provincial) and the country-wide levels. A very good example is the Canadian Federation of Agriculture which contains, as one of its important members, the Union catholique des cultivateurs. The Federation has been an effective spokesman for a variety of agricultural interests common to Anglophones and Francophones throughout the country, whereas the UCC has been the champion of Quebec farmers in a context influenced by the cultural values of its Francophone members. In the 1940's the UCC undertook to help Francophone farmers outside Quebec to form their own organizations. During a campaign to collect funds for this purpose, the UCC reminded its members of the needs of Francophone farmers in the provinces other than Quebec in these terms:

Like us, they need a strong professional association and stable economic organization if they are to survive and grow. If they are completely isolated from each other, the Francophone farmers are powerless and crushed in a milieu which is foreign to them; united in an association, they have structures of their own and thus can make themselves heard.¹

The parish or
diocese as a
base

155. A less centralized structure than the unitary form thus obviously offers some advantages in a country with two main linguistic and cultural groups. The practice of decentralizing on the basis of ten provincial organizations has much to recommend it, particularly for associations whose activities are related to provincial government concerns, such as education. However, a different basis for establishing organizational divisions has sometimes proved preferable. Many organizations serving Francophones have grown out of activities undertaken at the level of the parish, and sometimes parish or diocesan lines of demarcation have met the needs of the members best. The latter case, for example, has been an important factor in the organization of the Scouts catholiques, particularly in the Ottawa area.

Another "game
of numbers"

156. When the province is the basic unit of division in a Canadian association, however, there is some danger that it may lead to a variant of the "game of numbers." If decisions at the Canada-wide level are taken by assigning each province an equal number of votes, the Quebec organization—which often expresses the views of the organization's

¹ Quoted in J. Meisel and V. Lemieux, "Ethnic Relations in Canadian Voluntary Associations." See Appendix IV for original French.

Francophone members—has only one-tenth of the voting power, although its members may comprise a considerably larger proportion of the total membership. Thus, this simple majoritarian principle may be quite inappropriate in the context of Canadian dualism, and the great differences in size of the provincial populations have aggravated this problem.

157. The generalization that in a country-wide organization Francophone Quebecers speak for all the Francophone members requires some examination. Quebecers are almost always the most numerous Francophones in such an association and they are also frequently the most self-confident and active: it is they who have most often taken the initiative in country-wide associations in presenting and pressing the case for the Francophone members. They have tended to assume the role of spokesmen for all of Canada's Francophones, and this role has often been accepted by minorities in the other provinces.

Do Quebec
leaders speak
for all
Francophones?

158. One argument against the common association with ten provincial organizations is that the form suits the Quebec members, who are particularly concerned about provincial rights, but that the other members of the organization consider this to be an unnecessarily complicated organizational framework. This impatience with the position often taken by Quebec members results from the failure to understand that Quebec has a special role in regard to the Francophone community in Canada and that its associational leaders often speak for more than just Quebecers. In taking what may seem to many an unnecessarily narrow or rigid position, or in insisting on the scrupulous observance of provincial rights both within the organization and outside, these Quebec leaders may be the champions not of one of ten provinces but of one of Canada's two linguistic communities. What may appear as unwarranted intransigence may in fact be a profound concern for the survival and flourishing of a cultural group, not merely the momentary advantage of a province. In this sense Quebec does speak for French Canada.

159. There are, on the other hand, instances when the interests of the Quebec members are not identical with those of the Francophones in other provinces; the two Francophone groups may in fact hold contrary views on some issues. This is evident even in such nationalist organizations as the Estates General; some of their meetings revealed fundamental differences of view between the Quebec-based and the other members.¹ In associations where the Quebec members may have no interest in Canada outside Quebec, it is unlikely that they would be considered as the spokesmen for Francophones outside Quebec.

¹ *L'Action nationale*, Vol. LVII, Nos. 3-4 (Montreal, 1967), 271-5.

A parallel with
the political
world

160. Within any association adopting a non-unitary structure, there must be a clear definition of how the various component parts are related to one another. In trying to find an acceptable definition, many associations have considered the same kinds of arguments as those which have been applied to the question of appropriate relations between the federal government and the provinces. The points at issue are the primacy of each level and, once this has been established, the division of responsibilities and authority between them. Each federal-type association has to decide whether the central body is to be superior to its provincial or regional branches, or whether it is to be more of a clearing house, serving the component parts and co-ordinating their activities. The way membership fees are collected and allocated and the decision as to who has the final authority for the association's programme depend on the basic structure and on the way in which it is understood by the leaders at the different levels. Some associations have experienced bitter controversies about the allocation of fees, for example, because of an ambiguity in the definition of which level of the organization was supreme.

Internal
differences in
the response
to change

161. Members' views about their association are not static, of course: they change as times change. A structure which has served admirably for many years may gradually become less appropriate and be either too highly centralized or insufficiently so for the tasks the members expect from it. As the expectations of association members do not change uniformly, it is quite possible for one group to remain satisfied while another becomes acutely disappointed. Therefore, a potential problem for common associations is that the prevailing views on the desirable degree of centralization may undergo revision unevenly. The general climate of opinion in Canada has led some associations to experience a crisis because of the desire of members in some regions and provinces to exercise greater autonomy than before. While this phenomenon has not been confined to the Quebec sections of associations, it has been manifest here at least as much as elsewhere, and it is often associated with the feeling of many Francophones that, under the old arrangements, their associations were not serving their needs effectively. Organizations like some of the political parties, or those of the students, decided to split into two completely separate entities; others, like the scouts, have preferred to maintain a common link but to redefine their former relationship.

The need to
recognize
internal change

162. If the variation is great, and if it leads to the redefinition of an organization's objectives and purposes, the change may be so great that a totally new organization emerges, possibly still operating under

an old name. This is precisely what happened to the Junior Chamber. The Quebec organization recruited a membership somewhat different from that of Junior Chambers elsewhere in Canada, it pursued different objectives, deleted the word "Commerce" from its name, and found itself in long, drawn-out disagreements with the Canadian Junior Chamber of Commerce about the collection and allocation of fees: it had become a different organization from the other Junior Chambers in Canada, but neither side fully realized it. This failure led to bitter controversies between the Francophones and Anglophones and eventually to a split. There is, of course, nothing inherently wrong in this kind of development. The *Fédération des jeunes chambres du Canada français* is no doubt performing a useful service in French Canada and satisfying the needs of many of its members.

163. One way of escaping some of the disadvantages of a unitary framework and of a structure based on ten provincial organizations is a grouping of regional bodies. These have ignored political areas and have cut across both provincial boundaries and the Canadian-United States frontier. This kind of organization has usually originated south of the border and has then expanded into Canada. The Rotary Club and labour unions are among the most important examples of this type of organization.

The region as a base

164. One of its drawbacks is that it encourages the emergence of decision-making machinery which may ignore Canadian conditions. Although many policies in organizations of this type are developed entirely by Canadians operating within a Canadian section of the larger organization, the influence of the powerful "international" is usually inescapable. Since the preponderance of Anglophones is usually considerably more massive even than in normal pan-Canadian associations, it is all the more difficult for Francophone views and interests to assert themselves.

165. On the other hand, regional meetings of larger Canadian and international organizations can have a salutary effect on the relations and mutual understanding of Canada's two official-language groups. For example, on the eve of its annual convention, the Canadian Federation of Agriculture holds separate meetings for its eastern and western delegates. Encounters of easterners in various organizations not only redress the numerical balance between Francophones and Anglophones, but they also often show the participants that they have common problems which differ from those of Canadians living in other parts of the country.

166. Many Canadian associations rely on a unitary structural framework and arrange their day-to-day administration on the basis of

Canada's five geographic regions. A good illustration was presented to the Commission in the brief of the Canadian Credit Men's Association Limited:

The powers of CCMA are centralized at the national level. However, as has been noted, the policy of our national organization is formulated by Regional Directors, who are thoroughly conversant with regional and provincial matters. The policies of our organization, in aspiring to give adequate service to members, take into account provincial as well as Federal legislation. Because of this consideration is given to regional and provincial matters, just as if this responsibility was vested in these localities with freedom to carry out their own policies.

The dual language and culture of Canada is constantly in mind in the public services of the Association. As a non-profit organization, care must be taken in matters of secretariat, publicity, membership recruitment, correspondence and propaganda. Through careful study, we believe that the maximum recognition of the responsibilities of an organization such as ours, dealing daily with both French-speaking and English-speaking members, is to make a comprehensive study of all of our activities, and decide whether or not they are to be carried on nationally or regionally. In this way, we believe, they can be satisfactorily carried out with the minimum of waste. Since our principal function is to perform an informative service crisply and promptly, and still reach all of our members, the selective rather than the national approach, is consistently chosen.

C. Parallel Associations

1. Advantages

167. Earlier in this chapter we noted that the parallel type of organization has two separate unilingual bodies which may or may not maintain ties linking them into one organization. Although there are many differences between the structural form which completely separates the two linguistic groups and that which maintains an organizational link, there are also many similar features and their advantages can be discussed together.

168. One obvious advantage is that, since members of the two linguistic groups meet and act separately, they can reach decisions and carry them out according to the traditions and values of their culture. Not only are the problems associated with the use of two languages eliminated here, but also the need for one group to adjust to the other's conventions and habits of conducting business. For example, French-speaking scouts or physicians can pursue their interests as scouts or doctors in a manner that is both easier and more compatible with their general values, traditions, and needs. By making many or all of their decisions separately, the Francophones and Anglophones in unilingual associations simply avoid certain kinds of problems which

might otherwise arise between them. For example, a greater interest in farm syndicalism on the part of Quebec farmers does not drive a wedge between them and agriculturalists elsewhere in the country, since the policies emanating from this position can be pursued by the Union catholique des cultivateurs without having to be made compatible with views of other members of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, who may have different ideas about the place of farmers in society. At the same time the UCC can press the Quebec government for favourable agricultural policies while the CFA approaches the federal government about the common needs of farmers throughout Canada. However, the existence of unilingual sections in Canadian associations often causes objections, as a member of the Voice of Women explained to the Commission:

... a national organization with members from both language groups should allow for the formation of English- and French-language groups or bilingual groups: this would probably increase the recruitment of French Canadian members. I think this is perhaps one of the reasons why we have fewer French-speaking members than the other provinces.

Obviously, this is a purely personal opinion, and I must tell you—since you are interested in attitudes—that it seems to me that there are as many French Canadians as English Canadians who would disagree with this idea. It is not a question of saying that we are going to create a “melting pot” within the Voice of Women, but it is the French Canadians themselves... who do not wish to appear to segregate themselves. They really do not want to separate themselves from their English-speaking compatriots, because we are all working for a common good, for a single purpose. But, from a purely practical point of view, I believe that this situation has hindered us in the long run, and has perhaps hindered our movement.

If only people could... see that the fact of having a local French-language section is not a gesture of separatism or protest, but a working arrangement which would allow us to be more effective, to offer greater service, and to have more members.¹

2. Drawbacks

169. In its completely separated form, however, the parallel model raises a number of problems, including the question of who speaks for or represents French Canada. This ambiguity arises in part out of the fact that some Francophone organizations which operate only in Quebec mistakenly assume that in all their utterances and policies they reflect the views of all Francophones in Canada. Another reason is that the establishment of a purely French-speaking organization, operating either at the all-Canadian or Quebec level, does not always lead to the disappearance of the other, usually older, pan-Canadian organiza-

¹ Mrs. A. L. Saumure at the hearings of the R.C.B.&B., Toronto, March 31, 1965. See Appendix IV for original French.

tion, which may continue to have significant numbers of Francophone members. When this is the case, a decision sometimes has to be made about which of the two "over-lapping" associations can speak for the Francophones. The problem is analogous to that which arises when a difference of opinion develops between the Quebec legislature and the Quebec members of the House of Commons in Ottawa. The existence of a unilingual parallel association side by side with a common one may also pose some difficulties in deciding who is to speak for Canada, and particularly French Canada, at international gatherings of associations.

170. The parallel organizational form, by isolating certain kinds of decisions, avoids some potential conflicts between Anglophones and Francophones, but there is also the possibility that it contributes to other types of conflict. For example, if the emergence of two unilingual parallel organizations or branches takes place after some members of a common association conclude that their sharing of one organization is unsatisfactory, the chances are great that the split in the organization's structure will be accompanied by acrimonious debate and subsequent ill will. The break-up of the Junior Chambers into two parallel organizations is a case in point. In the field of co-operative societies, on the other hand, a different situation obtains. The Co-operative Union of Canada (a unilingual English-speaking association of co-operatives) and the Conseil canadien de la coopération (its French-speaking counterpart) have, since their respective inceptions, been separate organizations which have enjoyed excellent relations and which have successfully collaborated on a number of joint enterprises. The cause of some of the tensions mentioned below may therefore be less the existence of parallel organizations than the manner in which the two came into being.

Resentment
against trying
to create
common
associations

171. Francophone members of a parallel association resent the not infrequent efforts of the sister association to combine the two unilingual structures into one common pan-Canadian body. Because many Anglophone associational leaders are seeking means of strengthening Canadian unity, they have often tried to increase the degree of centralization in their associations and to bring about closer cultural ties between their organization and the Francophone association in the same field. The ideal of one Canadian association serving both linguistic groups has been pursued by many Anglophone leaders because of their belief that unity requires a high level of uniformity, a condition which many believe can best be attained in a common organization. But unity and uniformity are very different things, and the separate existence of two unilingual parallel organizations may effectively contribute to unity in cases where a more centralized structure would fail.

172. Francophone association leaders often cherish the autonomy that the parallel organization has provided and they have strongly resented efforts to transform this structure into a common one. For example, for many years even the leaders of the Co-operative Union of Canada pressed hard for the unification of all Canadian co-operatives in one association; only recently have these efforts been abandoned. In 1946, *The Canadian Co-operator* stated editorially, "In our judgment, it is only a question of time when it will be unanimously agreed it is to the interests of both English-speaking and French-speaking co-operators of Canada there should be also organic union to serve their mutual interest."¹ In the late 1950's, on the other hand, an editorial in the *Canadian Co-operative Digest* took a different line in discussing recent relations between the Co-operative Union of Canada and the Conseil canadien de la coopération:

Two national organizations which can join hands as these did in Quebec, which can appear together before Parliament, which can find a common home in the International Co-operative Alliance, have little more to gain from structural unity. Indeed such an attempt at tidiness might create procedural problems that would undo much that has been achieved.²

173. The tension between Francophone and Anglophone association members, caused by attempts to centralize parallel organizations, may be less the result of a weakness of the structural model than of the inability of some of the leaders to accept it and to exploit its potentialities. This also explains the dissatisfaction expressed by some non-Quebec Francophone members within organizations which unify all Francophone members and exclude Anglophones. It is almost inevitable that the voice of Quebec in such associations should be overwhelmingly strong. Francophones in New Brunswick, Ontario, and in some of the other provinces have regional or other interests which tend to be overlooked or downgraded in these organizations because of a different unilingual application of the "game of numbers" and sometimes also because of Quebec's political situation in the Canadian federation. The parallel form may reveal fairly profound differences between Francophones in Quebec and in other provinces, particularly when these are closely related to political developments in Canada.

Some problems
for Francophones
in parallel
associations

174. Another human rather than structural flaw associated with parallel organizations is likely to be apparent in cases where the new structure was adopted after bitter controversy; some members of both linguistic groups may harbour deep resentments and try to adopt restrictive measures towards their former colleagues. This may result

Backlash

¹ *The Canadian Co-operator*, April 1946, 4.

² *Canadian Co-operative Digest*, Vol. 2 (Saskatoon, 1958), 2.

in what is often called "backlash"; the Anglophone association may try to impede the successful growth and development of the new unilingual French body by disagreeing on such matters as the division of formerly common resources or the Canadian presence on the association's international body; Francophones, on the other hand, may try to impose on the Anglophone members of their new association the penalties and hardships they themselves had to endure in the earlier, common associations. Thus UGEQ, the Quebec students' association, became unilingual and compelled students from English-language universities like McGill to accept this as one of the conditions of membership.

Both groups
strive for
survival

175. Many of the efforts of Francophones to find a suitable framework for the associations to which they belong—and particularly, perhaps, their interest in the unilingual model—are prompted by their concern for cultural survival. The intensity of the feelings they bring to the questions posed by the need to establish an equal partnership and otherwise satisfactory relations between Anglophones and Francophones must be understood in terms of the intense preoccupations of many Francophone leaders with the survival of the French culture in North America and of what, in our *Preliminary Report*, we termed "a very clear determination to achieve liberation."¹ Therefore, it is not surprising that the feelings underlying the arguments presented in dealing with French-English relations in associations, and the policies adopted by Francophone decision-makers, are highly charged and sometimes explosive. An argument over virtually any matter of business in an association may appear to an Anglophone as a controversy over a routine procedural question but may strike a Francophone as a struggle over something vital to the survival of his language and his culture.

176. At the same time, the reaction of some Anglophones to the behaviour of their Francophone colleagues can under certain circumstances be understood only if it is viewed in similar terms. To an Anglophone, the restructuring of a common Canadian-wide association into two parallel unilingual ones may represent the beginning of the dismantling of his country, and the break-up of his association may seem to him to foreshadow the break-up of Canada. This view is not, of course, necessarily valid but it does explain the deeply emotional reaction of some Anglophones to the parallel type of organizational structure, especially when this is being proposed by associational leaders who have independentist political leanings, and particularly at a time when the constitution and political future of

¹ *Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, § 107.

Canada are being debated. Some Francophones assume that, since there is no equivalent in English-speaking Canada to the well-defined and linguistically distinct culture of Quebec, most Anglophones view their country with less affection and attachment than Francophone Quebecers display towards their society and Francophones towards French Canada. This is, of course, a gross misrepresentation of the facts. While the object and nature of the feelings are different, a very large proportion of Anglophone Canadians have a strong emotional commitment to their country which is outraged by what they think of as an attempt to destroy it. The intensity of feeling underlying their arguments against changing a common organizational form to a parallel unilingual one may be similar to that experienced by a Francophone defending the interests of his culture. The extent and vigour of the backlash accompanying some of the structural changes in Canadian voluntary associations must, therefore, be seen as stemming from the deeply emotional mainsprings of nationalism and patriotism experienced by many members of *both* linguistic groups.

177. The type of structure developed or chosen by an association is frequently linked to the objectives of the members. When these objectives strongly affect the linguistic or cultural interests of a group, or its cultural survival, they will certainly not be equally acceptable or compelling to both Anglophones and Francophones. Under these circumstances it is futile for the two groups to pursue their clearly different interests in a common association. Separate unilingual organizations will avoid senseless conflict, and may still permit them to undertake certain activities together when their respective needs are better met by doing so.

Structure is related to objectives

178. However, the gains realized in the parallel type of structure are not secured without cost: apart from the specific drawbacks, there is a real possibility that the segregation of the two associations may have more profound consequences for the groups themselves and for the quality of Canadian life. The fact that the two structures are completely separate or only tenuously linked may well reduce the extent to which the two collaborate in fields where this would be of mutual benefit and the opportunities of the two groups to learn from and stimulate one another.

The costs of segregation

3. *Methods of coping with the drawbacks*

179. So far in this discussion of parallel organizations we have made little distinction between the two quite different types: the completely separated one, as adopted by Canadian co-operatives, for example, and the partially separated one, such as the farm organizations or the scouts.

Two types of parallel associations: linked and separated

In the former case, there are two entirely independent and structurally separated organizations; in the latter, the two bodies maintain some sort of link which varies in strength from association to association. In considering how Canadian voluntary associations have responded to the problems of structural form, this distinction must clearly be borne in mind: to avoid confusion, two structurally distinct bodies, serving the same interests, will be referred to as separated; if some organizational bond exists between two organizations, we will refer to them as linked associations. As we have already suggested, it is difficult to identify in any precise sense the various elements contributing to success or failure in intercultural relations. This is especially true of linked parallel associations because of the variety and subtlety of the "links." If we have over-simplified this form in the following pages, it is so that we may more clearly identify certain basic structural techniques.

a) The linked model

Joint
committees

180. One useful practice of linked associations is to provide for an executive or co-ordinating body on which both groups have equal or very strong representation. Leaders of each unilingual section are thus informed of the preoccupations and activities of the other, co-ordinated or joint enterprises can be planned and executed, and, when desirable, pressure can be directed by the appropriate body to the government or governments concerned.

181. When the links between the two constituent bodies are very loose, associations sometimes make arrangements for exchanges on their executive bodies: the president or some other person designated by one association thus participates in the meetings of the other. While the guest executive usually is accorded the right to participate in all discussions, he is normally not entitled to vote.

182. In some linked parallel associations, liaison committees are established for the specific purpose of assuring that the two bodies keep in touch with one another. When it serves the interests of each, they can thus undertake certain enterprises together and they can examine their respective activities to decide which had best be undertaken separately and which should be pursued in concert. The work of one major joint body is sometimes supplemented by creating special ad hoc committees responsible for certain aspects of the association's work or for special events.

183. The scouts offer a good example. The agreement signed in 1967 between the Boy Scouts of Canada and Les Scouts catholiques du Canada (secteur français), as they were then called, after many years of unsuccessfully trying to define the relations between them satis-

factorily, provided, “. . . in recognition . . . of the value of unity of effort in promoting and improving the program of scouting,” that each party should select three representatives to serve as non-voting members of the executive of the other, and also that members of each organization should serve on both standing and special committees of the other. It was further provided that

The members of the National Executive Committee of Boy Scouts and of Les Scou's selected as provided in paragraph 11 (a) and (b) shall constitute a Committee for Co-operation as between Boy Scouts and Les Scouts in all aspects of Scouting. It is intended that the said Committee for Co-operation shall, inter alia, receive and consider matters of complaint or controversy affecting either party and shall report thereon to their respective Executive Committees.

The parties may cause informal joint committees to be established as may seem desirable, consisting of representatives of Boy Scouts and Les Scouts in the various levels of their respective provincial, diocesan, regional or district councils. These committees shall meet periodically to consider and report on matters of common interest and to encourage co-operation and collaboration at the different levels concerned.¹

184. In many associations, particularly the large and wealthy ones, permanent, appointed officials play an important role in the planning and execution of many activities. They are also an important means of contact between linked associations; this contact sometimes includes regular and automatic exchanges of publications, memoranda, reports, and even copies of certain kinds of correspondence, as well as personal consultations between the association staffs about developments and future plans. Special meetings of officials and elected executive members from both the linked sections can also contribute to the mutual enrichment of each and to the avoidance or containment of conflicts between them.

Contacts among permanent officials

185. These and similar means of maintaining contact between two parallel associations enable each to serve its members effectively and in a similar way, if that is desired. Francophones and Anglophones can thus develop their own ideas, procedures, and activities without the complication of having to reconcile them to the requirements of the other group; at the same time they can maintain a lively contact and interaction with it when they so desire. If the potentialities of this organizational form are fully realized by an association, it can contribute to, and benefit from, the opportunities afforded Canadians of both cultures. However, there is a danger in linked associations that the preoccupation of each group with its own affairs becomes so

¹ Agreement between Boy Scouts of Canada and Les Scouts catholiques du Canada (secteur français), February 22, 1967, cited in Lemieux and Meisel, in Appendix to Chap. III, §§ 12-3.

absorbing and time-consuming that the devices for maintaining contact with the other atrophy because they are largely unused. If this happens, the effectiveness of both associations may be reduced and members of both linguistic groups may be deprived of the opportunity of benefitting from one another's values, experiences, and skills.

b) The separated model

186. The probability of lack of contact is of course even greater in parallel associations that are completely separated. Some of the means of maintaining contact which we observed in linked associations have also been employed in separated organizations, particularly the use of special liaison and ad hoc committees, the mutual exchange of observers at the executive meetings, and the exchange of the association's publications. As we have seen, the Francophone and Anglophone co-operative societies have maintained excellent and fruitful relations with one another and have collaborated successfully on a number of joint projects. This interaction has been so beneficial that the Conseil canadien de la coopération has found it expedient to move its headquarters from Quebec to Ottawa and into the same building as the Co-operative Union of Canada; this happened in the mid-1960's, at a time when many other associations were experiencing violent conflicts between their Anglophone and Francophone members and sections. Similarly, the Montreal Board of Trade and the Chambre de Commerce du district de Montréal agreed to establish a common headquarters. A spokesman of the former, in summarizing the history of these two separate organizations, told the Commission that

... plans are already afoot for the two organizations to come closer together. We have just entered into a partnership from the point of view of a new home which will house both organizations in the same building. We are also talking from the point of view of combining several of our services and I think in the future there will be a growing together and my hope is that—this is just a purely personal hope and dream—the day will come when there will not be two organizations but one.¹

The "peaceful"
evolution of
the separated
model is possible

187. The close collaboration achieved between the two pan-Canadian co-operative associations or the Montreal Board of Trade and La Chambre de Commerce is, admittedly, rare among associations of the completely separated type. These sometimes emerge from a common association as a result of a bitter conflict between Anglophone and Francophone members. The legacy of hostility of these conflicts has usually been too great to permit the two new associations to develop

¹ H. Gould, General Manager of the Montreal Board of Trade, at hearings of the R.C.B.&B., Montreal, March 15, 1965.

the same fruitful co-ordination of effort as that of the associations just mentioned. But some completely separated associations have developed in a way which makes it easier for them to maintain close relations and to engage in joint enterprises. In these cases, two bodies have appeared because some Francophone members found an existing, allegedly bilingual, common association unsatisfactory; but the need of the Francophones was met by the creation of a new, unilingual French association supplementing, in a sense, the older and larger body, and there has been no violent conflict. The emergence of the unilingual association usually stems from the failure of the common organization to meet the language and other needs of the Francophone members; as a result, only those who were at home in the English language and who were interested in the association's pan-Canadian preoccupations could derive much benefit from belonging to it. These bilingual members usually join the new, unilingual association without giving up membership in the old pan-Canadian body, whereas Francophones who are less interested in contacts outside the Francophone society will only join the new unilingual body. In a sense the two associations complement one another and it is not difficult for them to combine forces for certain purposes.

188. Two parallel but completely separated voluntary associations can collaborate without endangering the integrity of either; in so doing they may at the same time contribute to the flourishing of both of the country's two linguistic communities and to the maintenance or growth of adequate relations between them. They can, in other words, be quite different in many of their values and activities while also contributing to the development of Canadian human resources and even to the realization that Canadians of the two linguistic groups can be enriched by pursuing certain goals and activities together. In this sense, lack of uniformity may contribute to unity, whereas attempts to impose uniformity may have the opposite effect. The completely separated organization may contribute in the long run to better understanding and greater interdependence.

Unity and uniformity are not the same thing

189. If this is to be the case, however, association leaders must make strenuous efforts to overcome obstacles and grasp the opportunities open to them. The major hurdle is likely to be the apathy or even the opposition of many members who cannot be expected to press enthusiastically for programmes bringing together members of two associations who have hitherto had stormy relations while belonging to one. More positively, the split can become a useful device if it is followed by the establishment of vigorous and imaginative liaison committees assuring that the two unilingual associations maintain contact whenever this is mutually profitable.

The split as a useful device

D. Representation

190. The basic structural form of a common association invariably affects the representation of the two linguistic groups within it. The two aspects most relevant to our inquiry have already been briefly mentioned: representation of the official-language minority group on the decision-making bodies and representation of Francophone and Anglophone members on bodies outside Canada.

1. Representation of the official-language minority group

Two areas of
disagreement

191. Some of the controversies about questions of representation in Canadian associations have arisen as the result of ambiguities or disagreements between Anglophones and Francophones about two issues: first, who or what is to be represented and, second, what is the nature of Canada and to what extent should the government of Canadian associations reflect this nature?

Who or what is
to be
represented?

192. The question raised by the first issue is similar to that faced by many democratic countries which cannot quite decide whether each member of the legislature represents simply a certain specified number of people or a cluster of individuals sharing a community of interest. In the first case, each constituency should be exactly the same size as all the others; in the second, a variation in size is justified. In voluntary associations the problem is even more complex. For instance, it has been argued that the executive bodies should reflect such "components" as individual members on the basis of their numerical strength (one representative for so many members divided into geographic or other groupings), branches, and even the monetary contribution to the treasury. In some professional associations the *métier* of the members may be taken into account when they elect their executive: the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, for example, provides in its rules for the election to the executive bodies of a specified proportion of physicians and surgeons.

193. Even when the relatively simple approach of representing individuals is adopted, these must still be lumped into various groups for representational purposes: an organization will provide that its executive bodies contain so many members elected by chapters of various size, by regional or provincial bodies, or by some other grouping of members meaningful within the context of the organization in question. The formula common in Canada of giving each province equal representation is often resented by Francophone members who believe that it unfairly reduces the voice they should have in the decision-making bodies of their associations.

194. There is also the related question of how the representatives should be chosen. In most instances the answer is simple: they are elected by the groups for whom they speak. But some cases are more complicated; when an organization's constitution calls for an executive body containing a vice-president for each component regional or provincial organization, these vice-presidents may be elected by all the members of the association (attending the annual conference, for example) or by only those members for whom they become spokesmen. In some associations, the provincial vice-president on the pan-Canadian body holds his office *ex-officio* because he is the president elected independently by the provincial organization.

How should representatives be chosen?

195. This last possibility shows that the question of representation is sometimes linked in the minds of the association members to the larger issue of the nature of the country. The argument for making the head of a provincial section of an association automatically the provincial vice-president on the Canadian executive is based on the premise that the country-wide association is a federation in which the provincial bodies are autonomous. Those supporting this theory of representation usually feel that this is also what Canada should be: only if the provincial bodies are empowered to make decisions in matters of importance to them, without having to take into account the requirements of the other provinces, can they flourish and develop their resources adequately for the needs of their populations. In this view, the pan-Canadian body becomes largely a co-ordinating one, responsible for certain matters delegated to it by the constituent organizations whom, in a sense, it serves.

Representation in associations and the nature of Canada

196. We have already seen that the emphasis in an organization's structure and system of representation based on the province still tends to leave Francophone members seriously underrepresented. For this reason some of them have argued that the West Coast area, the Prairies, Ontario, Quebec, and the Atlantic region should become the basic organizational divisions in pan-Canadian associations. The Canadian Credit Men's Association uses this approach in some of its day-to-day administrative arrangements, without actually adopting a regional structure and representational system. The numerous associations who have adopted it have often argued that the regional approach assures Francophones of representational strength on decision-making bodies—of one out of five, instead of one out of ten. However, this is only true to the degree that the Quebec delegates are the spokesmen for French Canada.

Representation on the basis of five regions

197. Some association leaders have asserted that Canada is a partnership between the two linguistic communities and that this should be reflected in the formal structure not only of the Canadian constitution

Representation on the basis of two communities

but also in the constitutions of the country's associations. This theory advocates that, in areas of decision-making which are of critical importance to either one of the communities, each should be accorded equal representation, by adopting a unitary organizational form in which each linguistically homogeneous association elects an equal number of representatives to a joint executive body.

The double
majority

198. A voting procedure which would have protected the vital interest of both linguistic groups was discussed by the student association before the split between the Canadian Union of Students and the Union générale des étudiants du Québec, but it was never adopted. It is an adaptation of the double-majority principle which some countries, like Switzerland and Australia for example, have devised in amending their constitutions and to which lip service was paid in the legislature of the colony of Canada prior to 1867. In the present context, the double majority simply means that a constitutional amendment must receive a majority of supporting votes in both a country-wide referendum and in a majority of constituent states or cantons. In the student association the idea was proposed that on issues considered to be of fundamental importance, a motion would be accepted only if it received majority support from both the Francophone and the Anglophone members, who would, of course, have had to vote separately. One of the problems this theory poses is that of defining what questions are considered to be of fundamental importance.

The "Quebec
spokesman"

199. Traditionally, the prevailing method of ensuring that the viewpoint of Francophone members was heard and taken into account in Canada-wide associations was to place great reliance on the views of certain highly respected Francophone members. These leaders usually emerged informally as the spokesmen who were consulted on who was to be nominated for various offices from French Canada, how the Quebec members would react to certain policy questions, how the association should handle the language problem, and on any other matter thought to have a bearing on French-English relations in the associations. The Quebec spokesmen usually had a very long-standing contact with their associations and had established strong personal links of friendship with their Anglophone counterparts.

200. Canadian associations owe these men and women a great deal, for without them they probably could not have met even the most minimal needs of their Francophone members. These spokesmen laboured hard to make the Anglophone majority realize the consequences of belonging to a culturally mixed association and to enable their Francophone compatriots to belong and enjoy at least some of the benefits offered by the pan-Canadian body.

201. Great though their contribution was, however, they were apparently not a sufficient force for the achievement of the sort of changes required for the Francophone and Anglophone members to derive equal benefits from their association. In the first place, the society which they represented has been changing rapidly and becoming increasingly more complex. Two or three decades ago, one or two individuals could perhaps speak for the Francophone members of an association. More recently, however, Quebec and the rest of French Canada have diversified and expanded in all their activities and interests. Although at one time a spokesman might argue that he knew the needs of Quebec, this is no longer the case. Today, the requirements of Quebec and French Canada cannot be reduced to a single statement and they cannot be understood and encompassed by a single individual. In fact, this has probably never been the case, but the *dominant* interests of French Canada could, at an earlier age, be detected and championed by a single individual. Today, no one individual can fully fathom the change affecting his milieu and the chances for an effective representation are therefore better under an arrangement which leads to the periodic and regular election of representatives who can reflect a variety of interests and who are likely to be more alert to new developments.

202. This more institutionalized and formal way of representing Francophone interests promises to be more effective than the earlier reliance on "Quebec spokesmen" for yet another reason: the Quebec spokesman was not only bilingual but was usually so accustomed to living in a predominantly Anglophone milieu that he was not quite aware of how it affected his less acculturated compatriots. He may even have come to accept as inevitable the hardships and penalties which Francophones had to endure in an age and under conditions which antedate the current awareness of the requirements of equal partnership. These conditions obtain only seldom today and they are rapidly disappearing altogether. The informally selected permanent representative has in many respects lost touch with his "constituents" and in associations where he still survives he is increasingly discovering that the positions he takes on their behalf are not acceptable to them. However, new spokesmen are still emerging, keenly attuned to the times and to what is required if the two linguistic groups are to have equal opportunities. These men and women have adopted a new style and, with somewhat different skills, are seeking a *modus vivendi* satisfactory to the two linguistic societies in accordance with today's values and conditions.

Consequences of the "acculturation" of the "Quebec spokesman"

Successful
accommodation
may be costly
and painful

203. For some members of common associations, the changing nature of the way interests are represented is distinctly disappointing. There was about the old way a degree of civilized gentility which seems sometimes to be lacking under the more abrasive contemporary procedures. An important lesson is contained in this change: the accommodation of the interests of the two main cultural groups in a common association is often difficult and costly. The older method was more pleasant, partly because the interests of one group were not fully stated and vigorously pressed. It was, therefore, easy to make such modest adjustments as were requested, and the number of serious and bitter clashes was limited. The cost to the Anglophone majority was not excessive but the cost to Francophones remained relatively high. Under these conditions, relations between the two linguistic groups may have been improved when minor grievances were removed, but the steps towards securing equal opportunities for both groups were likely minimal. When serious adjustments are made in a world where one group once enjoyed substantial advantages, the costs are usually high—particularly for the once dominant group—and the process of readjustment is usually bitter. This is less pleasant for both groups, but it is more effective and, since it is likely to lead eventually to a more fruitful interaction between the two groups, its drawbacks may be only temporary.

Short-cuts
may be harmful

204. Just as co-ordinating the activities of the two linguistic groups in voluntary associations increases the monetary costs, so does the provision for adequate representation. Attempts to economize and to take short-cuts usually contribute to misrepresentation. Thus, to save themselves the normal costs of co-ordinating their activities, the Canadian Union of Students at one time resorted to an allocation of various tasks to specified campuses, with the result that the programmes and suggestions which emerged often did not really reflect the views of all the important groups within their association. Even as wealthy an organization as the Canadian Chamber of Commerce had recourse to a comparable economy in its system of representation, with somewhat similar results. For a number of years the Chamber's executive council was composed entirely of members from the Montreal area. This made it easy for them to get together and to be consulted, but it did not make the council representative of the member Chambers scattered throughout the country.

Regional repre-
sentation

205. The degree to which the various provinces or regions are represented on decision-making bodies has obvious implications for an association's practices with respect to representation. It is inevitable that the practices adopted with respect to the geographic aspects of

the representational system will influence the effectiveness with which Francophones and Anglophones are represented in association.

206. There is also the question of finding a suitable way to represent the Anglophone minority in Quebec and the Francophone minorities outside Quebec. An organization wishing to develop policy-making machinery which will enable it to serve its members fairly and equitably will need to keep all these aspects of the representational system in mind.

Representation of the two official-language minorities

2. *Representation outside Canada*

207. Many of the larger voluntary associations belong to international bodies linking organizations from several countries pursuing the same objectives. Not all of them have experienced problems in defining and arranging their relations with the international body; however, some have encountered problems in this area.

Two manifestations of the problem

208. The nature of the problems depends in large part on the type of organizational structure concerned. In common associations, where Francophones and Anglophones are not structurally segregated, and in some of the parallel linked associations, where a common structural link exists, the problems encountered usually relate to the question of who is to appoint the Canadian representatives.

209. In the completely separated parallel type, controversies have arisen about who is to represent Canada when the international body accepts only one delegation from any country. If two pan-Canadian organizations exist in the area covered by the international association, a decision has to be made about how Canada is to be represented and what method is to be used to cast its vote. This situation has in some cases created considerable tension between members of the two linguistic groups. The problem appears in the most acute form (as it did, for example, in relation to the Junior Chambers) when a split occurs in a Canadian association which belongs to an international organization. In such cases it is not uncommon for the original association to view the one which has split from it as an illegitimate body which should not be recognized by the international body. The latter is then embarrassed by having to decide which of two rival Canadian associations it should recognize.

210. To some extent the difference of opinion about who should appoint the international representative or representatives of a Canadian association is related to the arguments about the nature of Canada and of its associations. Francophone association leaders who make strong claims for the autonomy of the provinces or who view Canada essentially as a political partnership of the two societies usually deny

Problems of representing associations are linked to views of the nature of Canada

the right of any central body to nominate all Canadian delegates since they feel that only a Quebec or Francophone organization can appropriately select spokesmen for French Canada. The main argument of those who deny this assertion is that, internationally, Canada can speak only with one voice and, therefore, one Canadian body must have the sole responsibility for appointments.

211. Another question concerns the proportion of Francophones and Anglophones on a Canadian team of representatives. Some have argued that it is sufficient to have a Francophone spokesman, but others have advocated representation on the basis of numerical equality.

Similarities and
differences between
the political and
the associational
world

212. Like so many aspects of voluntary associations, these questions are closely related to general political questions posed for Canada by its cultural duality. The parallel is striking with some of the issues which have arisen in relation to the participation of Canada and Quebec in international educational conferences and, also, with the arguments about the principles which should underline the Canadian constitution. However, despite the apparent similarities, there is an enormous difference between the essentially private and always partial world of associations and the public and more total sphere of politics. Voluntary associations may be able to accommodate themselves to their country-wide members speaking with two or more voices a great deal more easily than governments; the consequences of a split in an association are insignificant when compared to a split in a country.

A. The Importance of Adequate Communications

213. In earlier Books of the Commission's *Report*, and in the discussion of associational activities above, we have repeatedly emphasized the importance of linguistic differences as an obstacle to equal participation and to equal partnership. The greater cost to Francophones of participating in common country-wide associations is most apparent in this area. In this chapter we examine the linguistic cost more fully; we also look at the problem of maintaining adequate communications and co-ordination in voluntary associations from a broader perspective than that of language alone. Some of the methods for overcoming the problems of communications and co-ordination are surveyed, and it will be apparent that the most suitable method varies from one association to another. The adequacy of its internal communications are of central importance to any organization, quite apart from what happens to individuals and groups within it. If an organization is to function effectively, its members must be aware of the relevant events in its environment, the intelligence so perceived must be passed on to the decision-making organs, and the association's programme must be transmitted accurately and quickly to those who are to execute it. An association with an ineffective communications system will not likely respond to the demands of its environment or make good use of the human and other resources available to it. The weakness of the communications system penalizes all members, although not, of course, to the same degree.

B. The Cost-Benefit Balance

1. The prevalence of the English language

214. In most mixed Canadian associations, most members normally speak and write in English; most of the activities are carried out in English; publications, agendas, meetings, minutes, and reports are in English; and the language of administration is English. We noted in our discussion of structural forms that some associations have sections in which some or all of these things are done in French; this may affect *parts* of the organization, but in pan-Canadian activities and concerns, English almost certainly predominates. Often decisions at the country-wide level are the most important ones and have a pronounced effect on all parts of the organization. Furthermore, Francophones may find themselves in places or associations where no French-language sections exist; so they must function in English if they wish to, or must, join a given association.

215. Many associations provide written material for the purpose of implementing their educational, recreational, or utilitarian aims. If Francophones do not understand this literature, or if they must make a greater effort to understand it, their benefits from belonging to the association are reduced. Even for those who are well acquainted with the second language, it is usually more time-consuming or tiring to use it and it is also easy to miss the full meaning and nuance of what they read. This, of course, applies equally to spoken communications: lectures, study-sessions, meetings, conferences, informal get-togethers.

2. Psychological costs

216. There are other costs often borne by Francophones which, although perhaps less obvious, are nevertheless just as real. We have already pointed out that Francophone members of pan-Canadian associations do not get as much out of attending annual conferences as Anglophones, because many do not speak English well enough to benefit fully from the presence at these gatherings of highly knowledgeable but totally unilingual Anglophone experts in fields of interest to the association. A less-than-perfect command of English prevents many Francophones from benefitting as much as their Anglophone colleagues from the informal, between-sessions exchange of technical and specialized lore. The other side of this coin is that many specially skilled and expert unilingual Francophones do not attend annual conferences and similar meetings, or even work-shops of the asso-

ciation, because their inability to speak English prevents them from participating effectively. Where there is no provision for adequate interpretation, French-language sections of associations must often send as delegates not necessarily the best qualified people but those who can participate in the English programme. This inflicts a psychological penalty on Francophone members of an association, but it also imposes a cost on the Anglophones: it deprives them of the experience and insights of a knowledgeable group of colleagues.

3. *The penalties for acting as translators*

217. An entirely different cost of linguistic duality paradoxically results from efforts to make Canadian associations serve both linguistic groups effectively. An experienced officer of a Francophone section of a pan-Canadian association told one of our researchers that it was difficult for Francophones elected to positions of responsibility on the central executive to discharge their executive and leadership roles, because they were forever being asked to act as translators and interpreters. Because a much higher proportion of Francophones than Anglophones is bilingual, almost invariably, in associations which do not have the necessary staff or the services of professional translators, it is the Francophones who perform this function, and this leaves them little time for the job to which they were presumably elected—that is, to direct, with their Anglophone colleagues, the affairs of their association. In Book II of our *Report* we said:

Bilingualism also involves hidden costs for individuals who act as intermediaries between the two language groups. If bilingual Francophones are expected to provide the links between these groups, their own careers may be affected. A Francophone employee often faces a personal dilemma. He may be asked to interpret or translate something from French or to draft a French translation of a letter or document; because his Anglophone colleagues are not bilingual he may end up by constantly translating the ideas of others rather than contributing his own. His other talents will not be developed because somebody must play the role of intermediary.¹

218. If this practice is fairly widespread, it reinforces the tendency to the underrepresentation of Francophones on the executive committees of common associations. The translator-executive type, although generally considered to be a Francophone member elected to office, may not be able, because of his other duties, to influence the decisions made as effectively as his Anglophone colleagues; the underrepresentation of Francophones *in the decision-making process* may

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, § 530.

therefore be greater than a mere count of Francophone and Anglophone members would suggest.¹

219. The practice of using Francophone executives as translators may reduce the influence of Francophones in another sense as well. It may quite wrongly give the impression that they are uninterested in, or unsuited for, the really important decision-making roles, thereby contributing to a self-perpetuating myth about the characteristics of Francophones; because this notion is held by a larger number of people, nothing is likely to happen which would test or disprove it. Some Francophone executives may indeed become so engrossed in this task, and the related one of being a "liaison specialist" or "Quebec spokesman," that they are satisfied to play a less widely influential role in their associations than their capacities and original motives promised. If these tendencies become widespread, Francophones will continue to feel that they are generally underrepresented in pan-Canadian associations and that it is fruitless to try to participate fully in the larger Canadian society.

4. Respect for language and culture

The consequence
of seeing one's
language mangled

220. Francophones may be expected to react negatively to the fact that many common associations unthinkingly overlook their special linguistic interests and needs. It is also not unnatural for them to react negatively to the fact that an overwhelming proportion of Anglophones have failed to learn even the most rudimentary French and they expect automatically that the Francophones will make the effort necessary to get along in English. It may come as a surprise to some well-intentioned Anglophones, however, that a similarly negative response may meet their well-meant efforts to make their association more hospitable to both linguistic groups. Francophone members of pan-Canadian associations are often highly irritated by efforts of the Anglophones to provide the association's literature in French. The reason for this anger is not the motive of the Anglophones, but the way in which it is executed. All too often the French version of these documents is ungrammatical, unidiomatic, and replete with spelling errors. These sloppy translations imply a lack of respect for the French language which, in the eyes of many already sensitive Francophones, only underscores what they expect from their Anglo-

¹ A related phenomenon has been observed in the business world. It was put as follows in the brief of the Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants to the R.C.B.&B.:

The French speaking Canadian professional accountant is sometimes penalized because of his bilingual abilities. He may achieve a top position in a company within a predominantly French speaking community, but his bilingualism makes him too valuable to transfer to a higher position in a predominantly English speaking community.

phone colleagues: an unwillingness to grapple seriously with the problems of language use in their association. The faulty translation becomes nothing more than a meaningless and irritating token.

221. Constantly seeing one's cultural tradition ignored or belittled is likely to induce either a resigned acceptance of not being recognized or a strong reaction leading towards excessively vigorous efforts at self-assertion. Neither of these psychological responses leads to a realistic appraisal of the respective requirements of the two groups or to a satisfactory redefinition of their relations.

222. It is almost impossible to overcome the difficulties of translating certain ideas exactly. Even a letter-perfect rendition of a statement from one language to the other may fail to capture all the nuances of the original. A translation may therefore mislead members of both linguistic groups into believing that they understand one another's position or the meaning of a document when the translation in fact conceals some important differences in emphasis or even in the substance. This possibility is reduced if the individuals concerned have come to know one another and their respective preoccupations and points of view by a frequent, relaxed collaboration ranging over a variety of joint concerns.

223. The social context within which a language is used is particularly important. Language is not merely a passive, mechanical means for transmitting ideas; it expresses and *affects* the content of these ideas. Language and culture cannot be separated. A decision formulated in English, and then translated into French, is not likely to be quite the same as a decision made in French by the same people on the same issue. In reaching many of their important decisions, therefore, common voluntary associations that wish to take account fully of their cultural duality cannot be satisfied with merely translating the relevant documents and the outcome of the discussions based upon them. They must ensure that Francophones and Anglophones participate freely in the deliberations, and that some of the discussions take place in each language. For example, certain subjects may be of particular relevance and interest to the Francophones; it would be desirable to discuss such subjects in French, either in a session in which Francophones and Anglophones consider them together or in a subcommittee composed only of Francophone members.

224. The insistence on translating documents widely and on conducting the association's business in both languages is sometimes thought to be really unnecessary, since the Francophone members involved speak English anyway. This argument is voiced particularly in professional and large-scale business associations where most Francophones do manage well in both languages. It overlooks not only the fact that

Problems
inherent in
translation

The language
used affects
the message
it conveys

"Why bother
translating
into French:
everybody
understands
English here!"

to operate in a second language imposes handicaps on the person involved, but also the significant relation between the language used and the content of the ideas conveyed. Sometimes the "Quebec spokesman" joins the Anglophone in declaring wasteful and unnecessary the use of both languages in his association. This is partly because he has become acculturated and partly because he is not aware of two facts: first, even he would probably have been better off had he been able to participate fully in his first language and, second, there are almost certainly many potential Francophone members who would join the association if they could be assured that their language would be welcomed. Common associations in which little emphasis is placed on the use of French have likely never heard from those who would welcome it most, because they have not found it worthwhile joining.

225. However, it is possible that, in some very small groups where translating all documents and discussions would be quite prohibitive and vexing, it would be sensible to use only one language; obviously, in a country-wide association, the chances are that English would be favoured more often than French. But this practice must not be allowed to lead to the exclusion of unilingual Francophones from the decision-making processes; on those occasions when the personnel involved calls for it, the groups must be prepared to become unilingually French. Leaders in voluntary associations should be continually on the alert to spot long-lasting inequalities between the two linguistic groups and to make sure that if one group has for a time been favoured, this is not allowed to become a permanent condition. Compromises are tolerable to minorities and majorities alike, if they are reciprocal over time.

C. Methods of Coping with the Problem

1. A realistic assessment of the costs of bilingualism

226. The costs of servicing two linguistic groups in an association are of course also more direct and concrete than those mentioned so far. To translate all of an association's publications, reports, and other documents, to provide simultaneous interpretation at meetings, to engage bilingual staff members, and to undertake all the other measures required to provide equal services to both linguistic groups—all these cost a great deal of money. On becoming aware of the requirements of Canada's cultural duality, associations sometimes declare themselves bilingual without realizing the human effort and monetary outlay involved. It is easy enough to add the translation to the associa-

tion's name and to render the constitution into French, but to provide all the necessary services may impose substantial strains on its resources. To pretend to be bilingual without taking the steps really necessary to serve both linguistic groups equally is misleading and certain to be interpreted as a breach of faith by many Francophone members and as yet another example of the Anglophones' token response to the exigencies of Canadian dualism. It is essential that common associations which decide to provide their Francophone and Anglophone members with equal access to their services realize fully the consequences of this resolve, that they find out realistically all the costs of such a step, and that they state clearly how the additional costs are to be allocated.

2. The need for frankness

227. If information is to be transmitted accurately, the individuals concerned must be realistic in assessing events and frank in expressing their thoughts. It is exceedingly dangerous to achieve satisfactory relations between any groups—and particularly cultural groups whose images are inevitably the subject of numerous myths—if misconceptions are allowed to develop about how they view one another and how they react to one another's thoughts and acts.

228. A satisfactory relationship can be attained only if both sides have a clear idea of what the other expects from the relationship. A dangerous situation develops when one of the partners takes it upon himself to decide what the other wants, either because he is so arrogant that he believes he knows best or because the other partner does not bother to say. If both linguistic groups are to profit equally from Canadian associations, a sustained flow of frank communication is essential between the Anglophone and Francophone members.

229. Under certain conditions, conflict between two groups may be a necessary and salutary process. It can become totally destructive if it is not contained and resolved; but as a prelude to finding new solutions to problems of human relations it may play a positive role by helping the participants to define and express their interests and to demand satisfaction. But conflict cannot be contained if its causes and manifestations are concealed; the sentiments which inspire it must be communicated as early and as realistically as possible.

Conditions under
which conflict
may be useful

3. The importance of well-established officials and leaders

230. Associations which experience a rapid turnover of officers and staff usually find it more difficult to maintain adequate communications

between various component parts and groups than organizations where the senior officials do not change too often. Stability in personnel assures that decisions are made by people who have an intimate knowledge of the association and its problems, who know one another, and among whom personal friendship and loyalties may well have bridged some of the institutional disagreements. Very often these personal loyalties cut across linguistic lines and assure that the grievances causing inter-group tensions are expressed.

231. In some organizations, well-entrenched executives and officials may have a strong vested interest in maintaining the status quo and so oppose reform. As a rule, however, such vested interests as the old "organizational hands" may develop in their association, and such identification of their personal careers as they may have with it, create conditions favourable to the satisfactory resolution of conflict. These men and women, who have long-standing commitments to their association and whose personal careers may be vitally affected by the well-being of it, are likely to be greatly concerned for its survival. Whenever this survival is threatened—be it by a lack of funds, the exertions of a competing group, or a break-up caused by dissension between Francophones and Anglophones—the well-established officers and leaders will likely do everything in their power to prevent a possibly fatal crisis, and to find a solution for the difficulties besetting their organization; they will be prepared to make substantial changes and to invent and propagate reforms which promise to find favour with the membership. Seasoned officers, benefitting from extensive experience and contacts with each of the two main linguistic groups, are therefore often effective agents for the communication of ideas and decisions and for the co-ordination of effort by Anglophones and Francophones.

4. Passive bilingualism

232. Translation of all generally circulated documents is a basic requirement, of course. However, in many associations it is possible to confine the translation to documents intended for the membership at large and not to translate those directed to the executive, because the members of the executive bodies are able to read both languages. An extension of this procedure, known as passive bilingualism, assumes that either French or English may be used at the meetings of the decision-making bodies and that the documents used may be in either language. Participants are expected to understand both languages and to be understood by everyone present if they speak in either French or English. This approach to the problem seems to be gaining in

popularity and can be an effective device for assuring the equal access and equal participation of members of both linguistic groups on the decision-making bodies.

233. An interesting comment on the undesirability of translating all of an association's literature was made to the Commission by the Canadian Museums Association. "It is possible," it was argued, "that complete bilingualism in publication could frustrate the ideal of profitable dialogue between the two cultures. . . . It would, at least, confirm the inveterate reader in one language in his feeling that only one was necessary. Perhaps, for certain publications it would be better to print articles in English *or* French with—at the most—a résumé or digest in the other language. This would at least provide some incentive to bilingualism."¹ There is merit in this view. Associations should carefully weigh which documents to translate and which to leave in the original. On balance it is wise, at least at the present time, to err on the side of too much translation rather than too little.

5. *Simultaneous interpretation*

234. In no association (except perhaps those of translators and interpreters or linguists) can the rank and file be expected to participate on equal terms if all the communications to members are not translated and if simultaneous interpretation is not provided. All associations wanting to encourage equal participation make some arrangements for simultaneous interpretation at general meetings. However, as well as being expensive, this practice has some other drawbacks: it is awkward and tends to be resented by those who do not perceive how essential it is. There is also a tendency to tire quickly of the ear-plug and stop listening to the translation. The effective use of simultaneous interpretation therefore requires not only substantial financial resources but also a positive attitude on the part of the membership towards it.

235. The practice of providing simultaneous interpretation at general meetings of common associations often comes about as the result of pressure from the Quebec branch. A brief from an organization of nurses presented a picture which is typical of many associations:

The Canadian Nurses' Association, a federation of ten provincial associations, has adopted the policy of the official use of the two languages, both for all publications and, at the biennial meetings, through the use of simultaneous translation. This policy was adopted at the request of the Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec and was acknowledged

¹ Canadian Museums Association in composite brief of the Canadian Conference of the Arts to the R.C.B.&B.

unanimously, not only as a right for the French nurses, but also as an advantage for the whole profession.

The persistence of the French language nurses in making known their rights and their cooperation in supporting the efforts held by the Canadian Nurses Association have enriched all.¹

Repeating
statements in the
other language

236. The same organization also made an interesting comment on another device which has been usefully employed to facilitate communication and co-ordination between Francophones and Anglophones: the repetition in the other language of statements made at meetings.

At the provincial level, all deliberations are in the two languages, either by repetition in the other language or by simultaneous translation. It is in the course of discussions, particularly of the Committee of Management that the bilingual character of our Association is affirmed. Even though some members are bilingual, others understand only one language. It is necessary to express the subject in both languages and the discussions which follow must be repeated in the alternate language.

This tradition, created by necessity, is always maintained. There are advantages to this repetition. Certain aspects which have not been visualized by one group are brought to light when expressed in the other language through a different mode of thought. New ideas are presented which compensate for the length of the discussion.²

6. *Special meetings, conferences, and committees*

237. Some associations have organized special meetings or conferences to co-ordinate their programmes and to ensure that both the Francophone and Anglophone members can communicate better and can have a voice in deciding certain issues. These special meetings are usually called by associations whose leaders believe that the normal processes of communication, consultation, and co-ordination are inadequate for a particular programme or under particular conditions. This is an effective device, particularly when the organizers take the steps necessary to assure the full and easy participation of members of both linguistic groups. Among such steps are the provision of translation services, travel assistance where necessary, and genuine consultation on the timing, location, agenda, and other organizational details of the meeting.

Special
committees

238. Other organizations have established standing committees or procedures for the purpose of assuring that the ideas and activities of Anglophone and Francophone members are co-ordinated and that the communications between the two groups are satisfactory. There are many such committees, bearing a variety of names, constituted in

¹ Brief of the Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec to the R.C.B.&B.

² *Ibid.*

various ways, and occupying varying positions of influence in their organizations. Some of them co-ordinate activities and practices, but others have more specialized terms of reference. They may be responsible for the proper use of both languages in the association, for the adequate representation of certain regional interests, or for the provision of special services to members of one or the other of the two linguistic groups.

239. The special committees have performed a useful service in co-ordinating the viewpoints and programmes of Francophones and Anglophones in Canadian associations. Such a committee can sometimes become a vigilant pressure group within its organization, guarding against the development of programmes or practices which might become obstacles in the enjoyment of equal access by Francophones and Anglophones to what the association offers its members. These committees usually take one of two structural forms; they may consist entirely of Francophones, or they may be composed of members of both linguistic groups, frequently in equal numbers; the latter is a more common arrangement today.¹

240. Special committees do have weaknesses: they can usually concern themselves only with the matters placed in their care. The very existence of such a committee may then become dangerous. Association members assume that all problems in the field of cultural relations are taken care of and that no one need worry any further about a situation which is well in hand. However, there may be difficulties outside the committee's jurisdiction which will be neglected because of this false sense of security. The committee can also become a salve to soothe the conscience of those members who ignore the complexities of inter-group relations, or who are satisfied with a mere token reaction to its demands.

The dangers of
special committees

241. Co-ordinating or liaison committees have often enjoyed only a short life. In some associations they have been very active for a period after they were established and have then fallen into disuse. In many associations it is difficult to sustain the original impetus for the systematic attempt to communicate effectively and co-ordinate the activities of the component sections through the use of special committees. These committees often seem to be created on the prompting of one or two enthusiastic individuals who are particularly sensitive to the requirements of culturally mixed societies and who provide the driving force. If their term of office is limited, "their" committees may simply atrophy after their departure.

The short
life-span of
some
committees

¹ The brief presented to the R.C.B.&B. by the Canadian Welfare Council gave a full and informative account of a special committee, affording an exceptionally good view of the kind of work they do. It is reproduced in its entirety in Appendix III, for purposes of illustration.

7. The exchange of executive members and delegates

242. One successful means for co-ordination, and for maintaining effective communications, has already been discussed in a different context: the exchange of delegates or representatives on the respective executive bodies of the component parts of common associations. The presence of spokesmen from the "sister" division of the other linguistic group at all important executive and other meetings assures that both groups are informed of each other's ideas and activities. Thus it is relatively easy to co-ordinate these when this seems desirable.

8. Bilingualism among the staff

243. To benefit fully from membership in an association, an individual must be able to deal with it in his own language. This requires that the permanent staff serving both linguistic groups be thoroughly bilingual, but this ideal can almost never be achieved. Linguistically alert associations normally assure that receptionists and telephone operators are bilingual and that beyond this the staff contains a good mixture of Francophones and Anglophones so that all items of business can be discussed with interested members in either language. Some associations favour the practice of appointing the two most senior officials so that they represent both of Canada's official-language groups.

9. Joint headquarters and personnel

244. The two unilingual pan-Canadian co-operative associations have placed their headquarters in the same location, to facilitate the co-ordination of their efforts. This practice also makes it easier for each to cope with such language problems as it may encounter despite its unilingual character, and it offers great rewards for common associations in which one of the component sections is a Quebec association. The joint headquarters of "national" and "Quebec" associations enables each to benefit from the linguistic specialization of the other. The sharing of a joint headquarters by the Montreal Board of Trade and the Chambre de Commerce du district de Montréal was obviously inspired by the desire to assure better communications and co-ordination between the two bodies. In some instances, particularly where one or both of the associations concerned is not large enough to engage many staff members, they have combined resources and have together appointed bilingual personnel particularly adept at handling translations. Francophone employees of French unilingual organizations have

also served on a part-time basis with the pan-Canadian association to provide it with a fluently French-speaking member of the staff.

10. Conclusion

245. The institutional devices reviewed here have contributed materially to the success that some associations have had in assuring satisfactory communications between the two linguistic groups and in co-ordinating the activities of their Francophone and Anglophone members. However, the most effective guarantee of the appropriate relations lies in the associations' human resources. In practically every organization where relations between the two linguistic groups were satisfactory, this was in large part attributable to the presence of one or two alert and dedicated individuals. Sometimes these key individuals have held elective posts, in which case their term of office was probably limited; more often, they have been permanent officials, whose intimate knowledge of the work, personalities, and problems of their associations gave them unique opportunities for effectively co-ordinating the programmes and the interests of the members. Many of these officials have made determined efforts to become reasonably bilingual; this has of course made their task considerably easier. To perform effectively the role of a vital communications link, they have needed not only an interest in the issues posed by a bilingual country but also a high sense of awareness, great sensitivity, and considerable skill.

The importance
of concerned
individuals

246. The solution of the language problem is a necessary first step for the creation of equal partnership, but it cannot exorcise genuine differences of aims or disparities in conditions necessary for their achievement. Cultural differences, too, come into play—subtler and more difficult to comprehend than linguistic problems, but certainly not less significant. Successful intercultural relations in voluntary associations involve sensitivity to and acceptance of these realities.

247. The four aspects or areas of associations that we have examined—objectives, activities, structure, and communications—are obviously related to one another; yet each may affect the relations between Francophones and Anglophones quite differently. The objectives and structure, for instance, may encourage the development of equal partnership, but the activities pursued and the problems of communications may prevent it. Members concerned with promoting equal partnership in their association may, when confronted by obstacles in certain areas, be able to correct the situation by working on the others. Even within some of the four aspects there is often a good deal of variation and “inconsistency” in the sense that certain features may help to promote better cultural relations and others may impede them.

The inter-
relations of
the four aspects

248. Some of the four aspects offer greater scope to those members and leaders who wish to adapt their association to new circumstances. For example, it is normally easier to change the orientation of an organization’s activities or language policy than to adopt a new organizational structure or to make a basic change in the objectives. Starting with the most easily revisable, the four aspects can be ranked as follows: activities, communications, objectives, structure. On the other hand, each of these is composed of various elements which are more or less susceptible to change. For instance, in our discussion of structure in Chapter IV, we made a distinction between formal and informal structural features. Informal features, since they are not fixed by association by-laws, are more flexible. Thus it is easier to make changes in procedures of co-ordination than in methods of representation and the latter can be altered more easily than the basic organizational form as laid down in the constitution, which can usually be amended only through a slow and cumbersome procedure.

Variations in
flexibility:
a ranking

Advantages of variations

249. Leaders of voluntary associations can therefore compensate for unsatisfactory conditions in one aspect of their association by assuring that exceptional efforts are made in another. This frequently leads to a substantive improvement. It may also frequently have secondary benefits—notably an atmosphere of goodwill, which makes it easier to deal with the more “stubborn” areas where fundamental readjustments may be necessary. There are certain advantages in gradually initiating new procedures and policies, and thus avoiding the risk of a premature general reorganization. An experienced leader will profit from them in instituting useful improvements in those areas of least resistance.

Dangers of partial reforms

250. This attitude is not without danger: it tends to postpone indefinitely difficult reforms in other equally important areas. The temptation is particularly strong because tensions between Francophone and Anglophone members tend to manifest themselves first and most vociferously in certain particular aspects of the association: internal communications and representation on the decision-making bodies. This discontent is no doubt always quite genuine, but it may also be a sign of even more fundamental difficulties—related to the formal structures, the objectives, or some of the activities—which may be overlooked. Fragmentary solutions, conceived to cope with those aspects of discord which manifest themselves most shrilly, are often only palliatives and do not go to the source of the trouble.

251. Reforms must not be limited to simple accommodation but must aim at installing equality of opportunity between the two linguistic groups. If a common association does not succeed in responding to these exigencies, Francophones must resign themselves to an inferior position or withdraw to create a unilingual association. But separation, if it occurs, may weaken both groups.

Costs of separation

252. Within a common association, responding to the needs of the two linguistic groups presents a real difficulty that the members may be tempted to evade or to resolve by separating to form two associations. Anglophones, like Francophones, may see this as a simple and attractive solution, and in certain circumstances it may be the best one. But when separation results in a total absence of contact between the two groups, it is an expensive solution—even if neither group is aware of this fact—and it makes the whole country poorer. On the other hand, the maintenance of close ties between the two groups tends to create a feeling among the members of both groups that they have much in common. By sharing their interests and their problems they can realize that they are alike in many ways.

253. In our *Preliminary Report* and the subsequent volumes, one point of view is repeated again and again. Canadians must accept that “if Canada is to continue to exist, there must be a true partnership, and

that partnership must be worked out as between equals.”¹ The idea of partnership requires that there is contact between the groups, that they undertake certain tasks together, and that they interact and mutually influence one another. This interaction between different kinds of people and different kinds of cultures is potentially a promising human experience.

254. The coming together of people belonging to different cultures has had the effect of unleashing energies and resources which have enriched mankind. Under conditions of equality, the interaction of cultural groups is generally fruitful. When two such groups inter-react under appropriate conditions, they normally introduce each other to somewhat different viewpoints on the world around them and they bring more than one cultural tradition to bear on matters of mutual concern. When both groups have to explain their ideas and actions, they are forced to make a critical self-examination and thus they may come to understand themselves better. Moreover, because of rivalry between them, each will make greater efforts than they might otherwise do. Segregated, the groups are not as inclined to creative initiatives.

Interaction
between groups
is enriching

255. In Canada at the present time, the two main linguistic groups are assessing the means by which they may draw the greatest possible benefit from joint participation in the affairs of the country and at the same time allow equal opportunity for the full and free development of each community. A parallel may be drawn between problems in the functioning of voluntary organizations and political problems in Canada. The attitudes that voluntary associations take towards the problem of finding a satisfactory basis for the creative interaction of the two communities have far-reaching consequences, both because of the example they afford, and because of the influence they exert on their members, the general public, and, in particular, politicians. Ultimately, the arrangements made between two linguistic groups in the private and public sectors are certain to be affected by the country's voluntary organizations.

256. If in their voluntary associations, economic enterprises, and artistic and intellectual concerns, Canadians become increasingly segregated into respective ghettos, they will find it more difficult to collaborate at the political level. A massive and large-scale split of voluntary associations into separate unilingual organizations, if unaccompanied by determined efforts to maintain close and meaningful contact, is likely to lead to a growing alienation of the two groups. Political collaboration tends to be easier in those areas where there are highly varied and criss-

The dangers of
widespread
segregation

¹ Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, § 135.

crossing ties of other non-political kinds. Certainly, voluntary associations that facilitate interaction of Canada's two cultures in recreational, educational, occupational, and other pursuits contribute to the working out of political solutions.

257. Voluntary associations are private organizations. Therefore, in a country that treasures its freedom, voluntary associations must be allowed to carry out their affairs without interference by the state, except when their activities have public implications or when they assume certain duties on behalf of the state, as in the case of licensing members of a profession. For this reason, and because they are so numerous and varied, we have not, in contrast to our practice in other books of this *Report*, formulated any recommendations for them. In our opinion, a careful reading of the various points raised and the illustrations provided will make the members of voluntary associations more sensitive to the linguistic and cultural expression of voluntary action, and will help them to identify problems and seek solutions. In this light, generalized recommendations would be presumptuous.

258. Some people may realize that the aims of their organization, as formally laid down in its constitution, largely reflect the interests of Anglophone members of another generation, and that they could not be fully implemented today without alienating the Francophone members. Or they might suddenly perceive that Francophone members seldom participate in the process of arranging their association's programme, and that the programme does not answer their aspirations. Finally, they may become aware of the important role played by the senior permanent staff.

259. In many associations the relations between Francophone and Anglophone members could be improved. We have discussed various aspects touching on these relations and many of the means that associations have used in dealing with the difficulties they present.

260. All associations aiming to play their full part in helping Canadians to realize and profit from their country's cultural duality must accept certain basic requirements. In the first place, voluntary associations need to be "culturally aware" and sensitive to the consequences of their activities on relations between the two linguistic groups. Leaders of associations should regularly examine their procedures and activities from a cultural point of view—what one might term a "cultural relations yardstick." In speaking of this subject in Book II we said: "The aim here is to make Canadians so conscious of our cultural duality that they will be accustomed to think of cultural partnership as one of the factors to be weighed when decisions are made."¹

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, § 803.

261. Second, voluntary associations should make equal status for the two official languages a fundamental principle. The inability to use French in the procedures and activities of most common associations has been a major stumbling-block to equal participation. In recent years, some organizations have made determined efforts to overcome this obstacle. Satisfactory communication between the two groups implies the following: adequate translation services, bilingual officers and staff, and simultaneous interpretation. The last, because of the problems associated with it, has as yet been rarely used. If centres in which simultaneous translation equipment is installed could be made available to major pan-Canadian associations, and if portable equipment could be rented at a low cost, it would help to facilitate communication at conferences and conventions. Discussions to this end might be held between the major pan-Canadian associations and the Citizenship branch of the department of Secretary of State, which is already engaged in programmes aiding these associations to promote cultural understanding. Provincial governments, too, should be willing to assist in such an undertaking. Governments have recognized the importance of voluntary associations by providing them with aids designed to make them function more effectively. There are other departments of the federal government and all provincial governments which support voluntary associations in a variety of projects. We think it appropriate and in the country's interest that associations should receive increased assistance in this area.

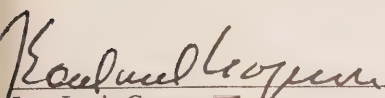
262. Further, in order to assure equal opportunity in common associations, the vital areas to be scrutinized are participation in decision-making, representation, and communication. We have already discussed the various ways of improving the situation in these areas.

263. More particularly, for parallel associations, we wish to stress the vital importance of keeping communications lines open. It may happen that, for valid reasons, the Francophone minority may decide to set up a separate organization. While this may perhaps provide more satisfactory service to their respective members, there is, on the other hand, a danger of isolationism for the two parallel associations. Without links between the two groups, there may be a risk of impoverishment: the associations may lose the mutual benefit of their successful initiatives and Canada may not share in their common experiences and aspirations. Today the trend is clearly away from highly integrated and centralized organizational forms to much more loosely linked structures. Modified structures must be devised which combine a high degree of decentralization with close co-operation between the cultural communities. Both sides should respond jointly to common challenges and consider goals and activities that enrich them individually and collectively.

264. Finally, each organization must devise its own methods to assure satisfactory relations between the two cultural groups. There is no blanket formula for this. The adjustments we consider necessary will demand resourcefulness, flexibility, and sustained effort if equality is to be achieved. There is no single sure way of obtaining success, and the effectiveness of a given measure may become known only after it has been tried. Members of associations should be prepared to display imagination and creativity and to know when it is necessary to depart from established practices.

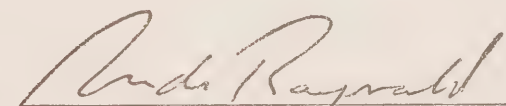
265. The changes suggested will require a radical reorganization of many voluntary associations. This reform is essential to improving relations between the two groups, but it assumes a strong motivation. Effective motivation cannot be stimulated by mere goodwill. The desire for reform must be based on both an intellectually perceived and an emotionally felt sense of its necessity. Voluntary associations have an essential role to play as agents of change and as examples of the will of Canadians to live a life in common.

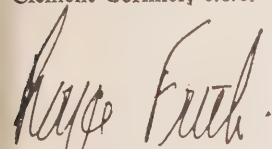
ALL OF WHICH WE RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT FOR
YOUR EXCELLENCY'S CONSIDERATION

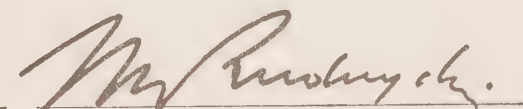

Jean-Louis Gagnon


A. Davidson Dunton

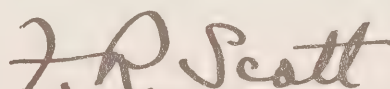

Clément Cormier, c.s.c.

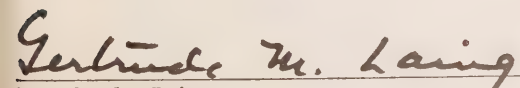

André Raynauld



Royce Frith


Jaroslav Bohdan Rudnycky

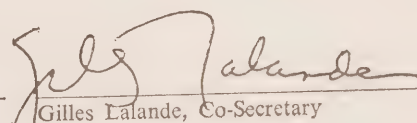

Paul Lacoste

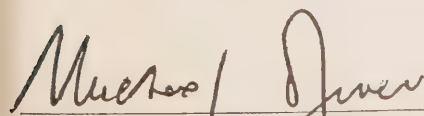

F. R. Scott


Mrs. Stanley Laing


Paul Wyczynski


Peter C. Findlay, Co-Secretary


Gilles Lalonde, Co-Secretary


Michael Oliver, Director of Research


Léon Dion, Special Consultant on Research

February 14, 1970

P.C. 1963-1106

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 19th July, 1963.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, the Prime Minister, advise that

André Laurendeau,¹ Montreal, P.Q.
Davidson Dunton, Ottawa, Ont.
Rev. Clément Cormier, Moncton, N.B.
Royce Frith, Toronto, Ont.
Jean-Louis Gagnon, Montreal, P.Q.
Mrs. Stanley Laing, Calgary, Alta.
Jean Marchand,² Quebec City, P.Q.
Jaroslav Bodhan Rudnyckyj, Winnipeg, Man.
Frank Scott, Montreal, P.Q.
Paul Wyczynski, Ottawa, Ont.

be appointed Commissioners under Part I of the Inquiries Act to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution; and in particular

¹ André Laurendeau died on June 1, 1968. On October 8, 1968, Jean-Louis Gagnon was appointed Co-Chairman and André Raynauld was appointed a member of the Commission.

² The resignation of Jean Marchand from the Commission was accepted on September 21, 1965. On November 22 of that year Paul Lacoste, formerly one of the Co-Secretaries of the Commission, was appointed to fill the vacancy created by M. Marchand's resignation. On May 1, 1966, Prof. Gilles Lalonde of the University of Montreal was appointed Co-Secretary.

1. to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration—including Crown corporations—and in their communications with the public and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration;

2. to report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures; and to recommend what should be done to improve that role; and

3. having regard to the fact that constitutional jurisdiction over education is vested in the provinces, to discuss with the provincial governments the opportunities available to Canadians to learn the English and French languages and to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.

The Committee further advise:

- (a) that the Commissioners be authorized to exercise all the powers conferred upon them by section 11 of the Inquiries Act and be assisted to the fullest extent by Government departments and agencies;
- (b) that the Commissioners adopt such procedures and methods as they may from time to time deem expedient for the proper conduct of the inquiry and sit at such times and at such places as they may decide from time to time;
- (c) that the Commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisers as they may require at rates of remuneration and reimbursement to be approved by the Treasury Board;
- (d) that the Commissioners report to the Governor in Council with all reasonable despatch, and file with the Dominion Archivist the papers and records of the Commission as soon as reasonably may be after the conclusion of the inquiry.
- (e) that André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton be co-Chairmen of the Commission and André Laurendeau be Chief Executive Officer thereof.

R. G. ROBERTSON

Clerk of the Privy Council

To illustrate, by a concrete example, the possibility of mutual understanding and acceptance between French and English Canadians, when they are able to meet in a serene atmosphere and exchange quietly and directly (without the media of newspapers or political parties, for example), we would like briefly to mention here the exchange of visits between our Board of Directors and that of the Ontario Chamber of Commerce. This was a precedent in the history of our two movements.

Aware that the separatist wave in Quebec, certain purchasing policies of provincial government agencies, and the expression of various opinions by French-Canadian politicians were often misinterpreted and sometimes inadequately understood within Ontario business circles, our Chamber of Commerce took the initiative, towards the end of 1963, in organizing a meeting at the level indicated above.

This suggestion was warmly received by the Ontario Chamber of Commerce, and the first meeting took place in Toronto, on January 21, 1964. It was most cordial, frank but prudent. Our president, in the closing address, explained, with logic and vigour, Quebec's position.

His statements were received with an open mind by our Ontario confreres.

Following the first meeting, a Joint Committee of four members on one side and four on the other side was formed, and met to study the different subjects stressed during the first meeting, particularly: the economic objectives of Quebec, the purchasing policies adopted by our provincial government, and various policies of our movement in the fields of trade and bilingualism.

On both sides, it seems that everyone was astonished to observe how easy it was to reach an understanding on all these issues when they sat around a table to discuss them in honesty and frankness, and without, in any manner, betraying the interests or viewpoints of the groups they represented.

Subsequently, there was a second meeting of our Boards of Directors in Montreal in March, 1964. As in Toronto, there were approximately a hundred in attendance, almost equally divided between each Chamber. This was a group of businessmen coming from all corners of each of the provinces. The results of the deliberations of the Joint Committee were submitted, discussed, then unanimously accepted.

¹ Excerpt from the brief of the Province of Quebec Chamber of Commerce to the R.C.B.&B.

Some could claim that in accepting our points of view our Ontario colleagues yielded without conviction. This is not our opinion. In proof of this, at the Annual Meeting of the Ontario Chamber of Commerce, which subsequently took place in May, 1964, a resolution was adopted by the general assembly, without our asking or even suggesting. The unanimous resolution not only recognized the economic goals of Quebec, but, in the original text of the resolution: "Promised full support for whatever measures that changing times and historical transition may prescribe for the continuation of this great union, and to this end will subscribe to and foster whatever constitutional, economic and social evolutions that may prove to be necessary to achieve this paramount goal."

The Ontario Chamber also recommended: "That the provincial government adopt a long-range policy so as to:

- a) train sufficient qualified teachers to provide instruction in at least conversational French to every elementary school student in Ontario;

- b) make the teaching of oral French compulsory for the elementary grades when teachers are available;
- c) in the interim period, encourage and assist the development by local boards of sound oral French programmes in elementary grades."

These resolutions thus became part of the new policies of the Ontario Chamber, and all who know the workings of our movement realize that these words imply serious involvement.

The Committee is still in existence, and will soon meet to discuss other subjects which are a source of controversy between our two provinces, and other meetings are envisioned at the level of our respective Boards of Directors. We are even, at the present time, thinking of extending this formula to other provinces.

We are of the opinion that these were human experiences which are very conclusive and indicative of measures which could, with advantage, be repeated in other areas, on condition that they are entered into with good will.

16. . . . The Council recognized the need to meet the wish of French-speaking Canadians to take part in *all* the activities, general and specialized, of the Council. But there was also need to find some way to encourage them to meet among themselves, if they so desired and afford them the opportunity to draw away from the specialized interests of sectors, to integrate themselves with the over-all policies of the Council, and bring about a sound expression of opinion reflecting the general interest of the French group of the Council. After a study, the method adopted was that of the French Commission, a body with both consultative and executive functions, in which the French-speaking element of each section of the Council, including the Board of Governors, was represented.

This new plan had many advantages. For one thing, it did not move away radically from the past structure, and it gave the French group a much more definite role in the formulation of Council policy. It also provided an opportunity for French-speaking members to consult among themselves, and it counteracted to some extent the weakness and indeterminateness that could have resulted from the dispersion of effort through many sectors.

17. It might be useful to illustrate concretely the role of the Commission. It was first called upon to advise, in a number of circumstances, both the Board and the divisions. Institutes held under its auspices have channelled the thinking of the Council towards the French-speaking community and vice-versa. The Commission has expressed the point of view of the French-speaking members of the Council on briefs and has assisted in promoting them; it has also co-operated in the formula presentations that followed. The Commission has advised the Council on the need for bilingual staff, both for the general and for the specialized services, and it has helped in the search for competent candidates. It has assisted in obtaining financial support from French Canada and it has helped in recruiting members. The decade after 1950 was particularly active and a brief reference to major achievements follows.

18. 1950-1959

In 1951, the Council was seriously considering moving its office to Toronto. There were various reasons for this: many of the volun-

¹ Submission by the Canadian Welfare Council to the R.C.B.&B.

teers, administrators and university people with whom the Council staff were dealing lived in that city and it was believed that travelling time and costs would be reduced if the cwc office were in Toronto. The French Commission was consulted and it advised that for the sake of national unity, of the past efforts of the Council to bring about co-operation between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians, and for the sake of the Council's efforts in advancing social services and social welfare legislation, the office should remain in Ottawa. The Commission added that if the environment of a large city were needed to pursue the Council's work, Montreal rather than Toronto should be chosen. And the Council stayed in Ottawa! This proved to be a wise decision.

In 1953, after noting that the English name of the Council had official recognition, the Commission intervened and obtained the same recognition for the French name in the by-laws of the Council.

19. The Commission has always been concerned with representation of French-speaking people on the Board and has suggested candidates each year. These for the most part are recruited from among business and professional men, and from boards of local and regional agencies. They come mostly from large and medium-sized urban communities; there are few from rural areas.

20. The Commission has studied through the years the important briefs of the Council which bear on various questions, such as assistance to the handicapped, public assistance, capital punishment, health services, lotteries, unemployment, social security, human rights, taxation and welfare, and the Canada Pension Plan. The Commission has advised and made suggestions on each of these major proposals after consulting not only its own members but also other French-speaking specialists. The same type of consultation is given when advice is sought by Council divisions.

The Commission has always been interested in the problems of structure of the Council, and the Function and Organization study (completed in 1954-55 and dealing with the purposes, the internal and external structure and the administration of the Council) offered the opportunity to clarify its relationship with the different sections. The role of the Commission is, all in all, quite delicate. It counsels and, if need be, takes certain initiatives. It is different from a divisional national committee in that it does not attempt to build its own program but rather works towards strengthening the other sections of the Council.

21. The institutes and meetings organized by the Commission are probably the activity which has most attracted the attention of the French-Canadian public to the Canadian Welfare Council. These institutes planned and organized in relation to the Council's program, have also taken into account the concerns and needs of the French-Canadian community. One could cite, for instance, the institute on foster homes (1954). For many years, the Council has been interpreting to French-Canadians the idea of foster homes for the placement of homeless children. One can guess that to a community in which the predominant type of child placement was the institution, this idea was rather shocking and brought about a lively debate. With time, however, the quarrels subsided and the soundness and reason of the Council's position were better understood. The discussion during the 1954 institute did away with the competition between opposition camps and took into account the wise use of both methods of child placement. During other institutes, it was the Council that benefited from the meeting of the two cultures. This influence was particularly felt during the institute on public assistance which was the prelude to an official statement of the Council on this subject. The emphasis on the family that is inherent in French Canada brought about some significant changes in the Council's statement.

22. 1960-1964

As the time passed, and as various sections of the Council enjoyed more and more French participation, it became less necessary for the Commission to exercise its executive function. French participation in the functional fields such as aging, family and child welfare was evidenced by the increasing number of translations and the request for bilingual meetings, including general meetings of the Council and those of the different sections.

23. A study of the role of the Commission was then undertaken. As a result, it was decided to emphasize its role as an "advisor and consultant" within the cwc. Its rather heavy structure (65 members) was simplified. In the past, the Commission included all French representatives of the Board and national committees; it now includes only one representative from each of the divisions (to insure liaison between the two structures), three representatives from the Board and the chairmen of the Commission's subcommittees, eighteen members in all.

24. The Commission considered that its first and most urgent task was to secure official recognition of the bilingual and bicultural character of the Council, and it urged that an official position should be taken by the Board. It therefore prepared a statement which was later referred to a joint committee and then presented to the Board. Formal approval came on October 18, 1963. The Council's Executive Committee was then requested to implement the principles enunciated in the brief, which bind the Canadian Welfare Council to a policy of full bilingualism and biculturalism. So far, steps have been taken to improve the knowledge of French among

the English-speaking staff to emphasize to a greater extent than in the past the bilingual presentations of numerous official media of communication (letterhead, forms, etc.). The search for French-speaking and bilingual staff for certain vacant posts has also been intensified.

25. In brief, the French Commission has been a vital and necessary agent in directing the Council's work in French Canada and in winning for it the co-operation of the French-speaking community. The Council thus has been able to serve both of the main linguistic groups of Canada, taking into account their differences and the contributions each can make. Is this to say that the task was pursued without friction or difficulties? Not at all: some people thought at times that the Commission delayed and stood in the way of certain projects or else that it encouraged the Council to adopt solutions of compromise. Others saw the Commission as a useful instrument which gave to all Council activities a truly Canadian outlook. Whatever the point of view, the Council has always deliberately promoted the integration of bilingualism and biculturalism within its structure, in spite of the problems inherent in such a situation. These problems must be approached philosophically, however, because in spite of the general goodwill of the English-speaking group there are still misunderstandings, over-sights, not to say indifference, at times. These mistakes create in certain members of the French-speaking group the feeling of "not belonging," which is frustrating to them. For the time being, the French Commission does assist in settling these differences and bridging the two elements.

§ 33. « Au fossé qui semble s'être creusé entre les élus et le peuple, s'ajoute le recours à des moyens inédits, depuis le début de l'ère libérale, de pression sur le gouvernement. Les sociétés libérales en effet, outre les partis politiques, se sont données un mécanisme particulier pour permettre aux citoyens de manifester leur mécontentement contre le gouvernement. Ce mécanisme s'appelle l'association volontaire ou le groupe d'intérêt. Malheureusement, ce mécanisme est trop souvent devenu l'instrument de dirigeants qui s'en servaient pour promouvoir leurs propres intérêts plutôt que ceux de leurs membres. Les efforts actuels pour mettre un terme au règne des oligarchies aboutissent souvent à la dissolution de l'association elle-même. Ainsi, l'immense monde étudiant dans le Québec ne dispose plus d'associations pour le représenter. D'où le recours à l'action directe comme technique de pression. »

§ 94. « Il faut éviter non seulement la domination d'un groupe par l'autre, mais il faut éviter qu'un groupe semble être dominé par l'autre. Et là je trouve ça très important au point de vue psychologique, le moment qu'il y a une minorité et une majorité, on permet à la minorité de se trouver noyée, même si c'est vrai, par la majorité, et quand nos classes sont vraiment à peu près des nombres, enfin plus ou moins égaux, nous voyons que les cours communs marchent d'une façon beaucoup plus efficace, que quand le professeur sent la nécessité de, soit favoriser un groupe majoritaire, parce qu'il est majoritaire, ou de soit favoriser justement le groupe minoritaire pour la raison que c'est la minorité. »

§ 153. « Comme nous, ils ont besoin d'une association professionnelle organisée et d'entreprises économiques solides s'ils veulent survivre et s'affirmer. Isolés chacun dans leur coin, les cultivateurs sont impuissants et sont noyés dans un milieu qui leur est étranger ; organisés ils ont des cadres bien à eux et peuvent se faire entendre. »

§ 167. « [...] une organisation nationale qui a des membres des deux langues devrait donner la chance de former des groupes de langue française ou de langue anglaise ou des groupes qui seraient bilingues, parce qu'on permettrait ainsi d'augmenter probablement le recrutement du côté canadien-français. Je pense que c'est peut-être une des raisons pour lesquelles nos membres de langue française sont moins nombreux que dans les autres provinces.

Évidemment, ça, c'est une opinion absolument personnelle, et je dois vous dire, puisque vous vous intéressez aux attitudes, à mon avis, il y a autant de Canadiens-français qui s'opposent à cette idée-là que de Canadiens-anglais. Ce n'est pas une question de dire : on va faire un melting pot au sein de la Voix des Femmes, mais c'est que les Canadiens-français eux-mêmes [...] ne veulent pas avoir l'air de se séparer — elles ne veulent pas en fait se séparer du reste de nos compatriotes de langue anglaise, parce que nous travaillons toutes pour un bien commun, pour un objectif commun.

Mais au simple point de vue pratique, je crois que ceci nous a nui, en définitive, et a peut-être nui à notre mouvement.

Si on pouvait simplement s'apercevoir que le fait pour une section locale d'être de langue française uniquement, ce n'est pas un geste de séparatisme, ce n'est pas un geste de protestation, mais une formule de travail qui nous permet d'être plus efficace et de rendre un plus grand service, d'avoir plus de membres. »

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